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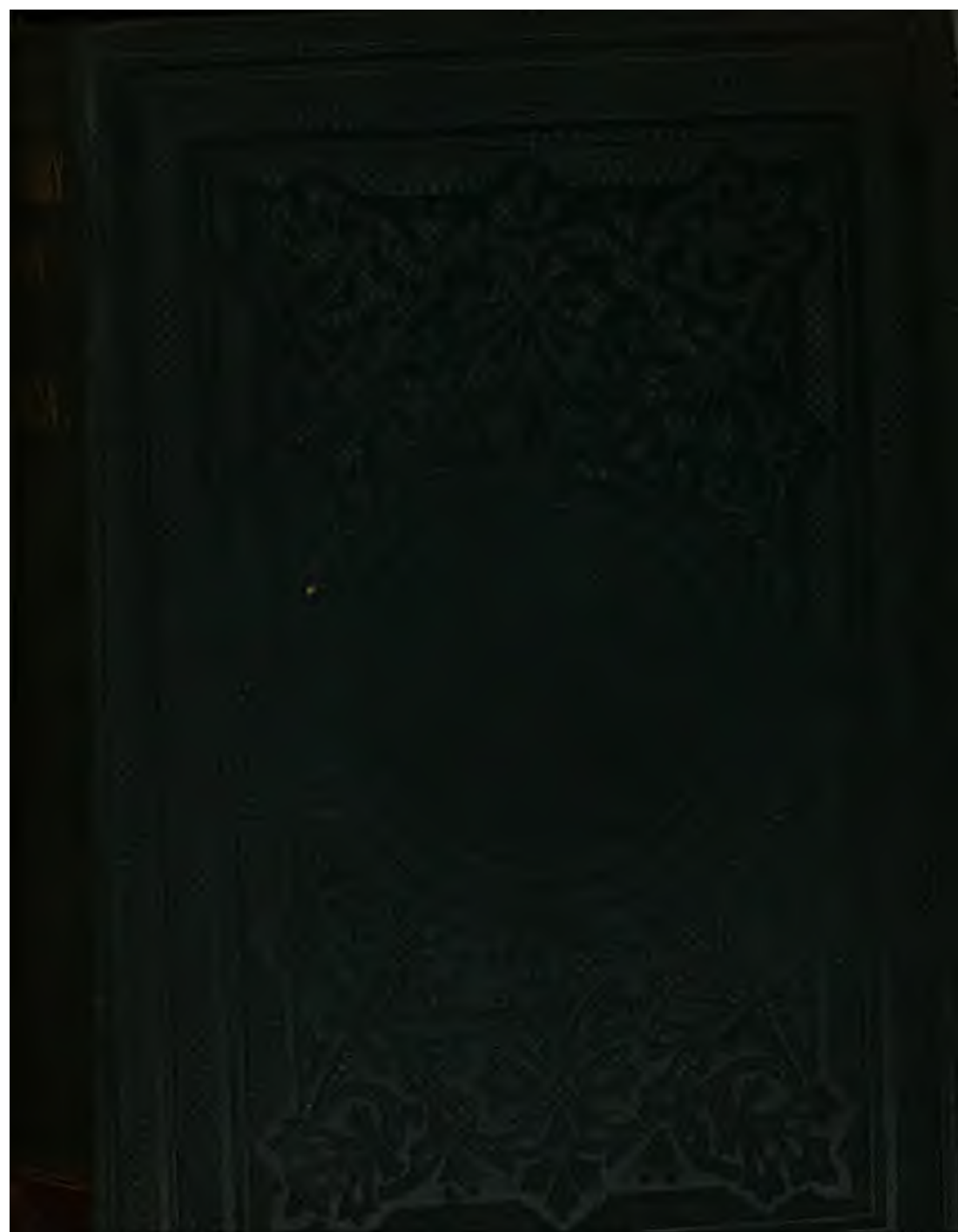
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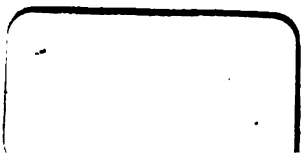
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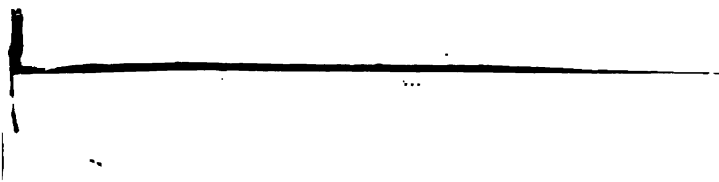
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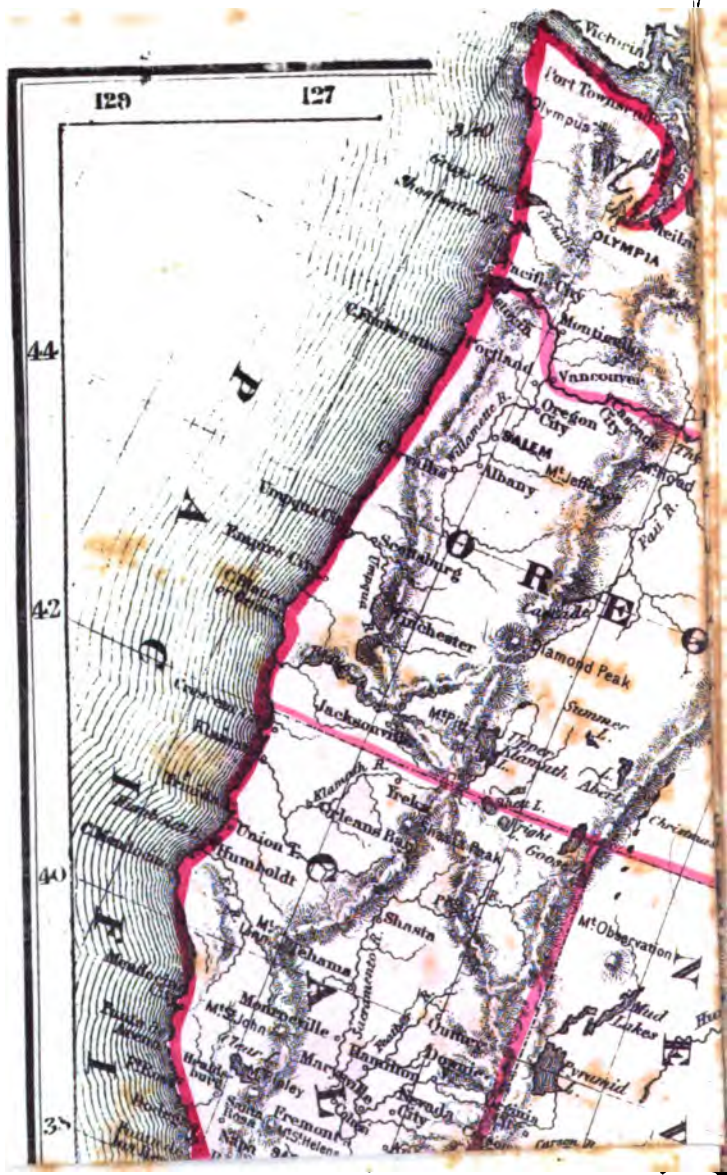




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AMERICA:
THE ORIGIN OF HER PRESENT CONFLICT;
HER PROSPECT FOR THE SLAVE,
AND
HER CLAIM FOR ANTI-SLAVERY SYMPATHY;

ILLUSTRATED BY

**INCIDENTS OF TRAVEL, DURING A TOUR IN THE SUMMER OF 1863,
THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE EASTERN
BOUNDARIES OF MAINE TO THE MISSISSIPPI.**

BY

**JAMES WILLIAM MASSIE, D.D., LL.D.,
LONDON,**

**One of the Deputation appointed to convey to Ministers in America the Address adopted at the
Ministerial Anti-slavery Conference, held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, 8th June, 1863.**

**LONDON:
JOHN SNOW, 35, PATERNOSTER ROW.**

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TO
THOMAS BAYLEY POTTER, ESQ.,
BUILE HILL, MANCHESTER.

SIR,

My Mission to the United States of America was prompted and sustained by your liberal philanthropy ; and, in this memorial of my service, I gratefully acknowledge your constancy in supporting the cause of the Union, and the emancipation of the enslaved and oppressed. To be able to identify your name and generous sympathy for the working-classes as of a follower in the footsteps of your much-honoured and venerated father, adds intensity to my gratification in adopting this mode of rendering a tribute of sincere personal esteem to yourself.

I am, Sir,
Your faithful and obliged,

JAMES WILLIAM MASSIE.

LONSDALE SQUARE, LONDON.
January 23, 1864.

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* * Errors and oversights in the press I hope will be found only few ; but one has occurred at page 86, which I will thank the reader to correct. On the line ninth from the bottom, insert "not" before the words "in a slave state." Connecticut was the State. The Church assembling in the Tabernacle, Jersey City, N.J., adhered, by resolution, to the response from New York.

AMERICA:

THE ORIGIN OF HER PRESENT CONFLICT,

ETC., ETC.

INTRODUCTORY EXPLANATION.

ORIGIN AND OBJECT OF THE MISSION.

A LETTER, expressing generous and enlightened sympathy with the descendants of Puritan and Nonconformist ancestors, was received and read at a meeting of the Committee of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, in the summer of 1862. The occasion of the letter was the proposed celebration of the Bicentenary of St. Bartholomew, 1662, when two thousand clergymen submitted to ejection from their livings and prospect of preferment in the Church of England, rather than constrain or wound their conscience by obedience to the dictates of royal or prelatie policy in things belonging to God. The letter was written by the Rev. J. P. Thompson, D.D., Minister of Broadway Tabernacle, New York, under the appointment of an assembly of Congregational ministers in the United States. The expediency and form of a reply were considered at a meeting of the Committee, and the care of preparing a draft for adoption, at a more public

assembly, was devolved on the writer of these pages. The condition of America, the past intercourse sustained between Congregationalists in England and the United States, and a desire to advance the cause of American bondmen, suggested the line of thought which it was too confidently anticipated the assembly would unanimously approve. The discussion then produced led to action in another form, which renders worthy of a record what had been proposed. It was affirmed "that the Congregational Union has ever regarded their brethren of the Congregational churches in America as their lineal and collateral kindred, representing the same fathers and teachers, of early Puritanic and Nonconformist lineage, who testified and suffered as witnesses to the sovereign and revealed will of their Lord and Redeemer, and the inviolate and sacred rights of conscience, and who, by their sacrifices, virtues, and labours, on both sides of the Atlantic, for the truth and sufficiency of God's word, have maintained and extended the life and purity of evangelical churches; and in remembrance of such prolonged ecclesiastical affinity, the assurances of cordial sympathy and congratulation, conveyed by the letter of the Rev. Dr. Thompson, were hailed with grateful satisfaction; and it was proposed to approve of the replies returned by the Committee, and remit to that body all *further correspondence* arising from this communication.

"The cordial assurance was avowed, that Congregational brethren in America have preserved their churches from the polluting and contaminating fellowship of the slavedealer and the slaveholder; in the belief that slavery is the summing and concentration of all social evils, and the stronghold in which the principle of tyrannical power reigns triumphant: with this assurance the assemblies of this Union had repeatedly addressed, in the freedom of Christian confidence, their American brethren in behalf of brethren in bondage, pleading that they should employ their influence in their own country for the entire abolition of slavery, in resistance to the aggressive policy of rulers and representatives, chosen and imposed by the influence of a slaveholding oligarchy, and the gains of commercial intercourse. It was hoped the assembly would adhere to

their former importunities, and again emphatically renew them for the speedy and effectual liberation of all who are held in slavery throughout America.

"It was sought to pledge the assembly, without entering into the occasion or question of the war now raging, to express its unfeigned compassion for the people who suffer, and its sympathy with the Christian brethren who long for the immediate cessation of this fratricidal conflict; to commend in fervent prayer to God, as Ruler among the nations, the cause of the poor and oppressed, and entreat Him to bring to a speedy termination the unnatural hostilities by which the principle of popular government is covered with reproach, the work of righteousness and peace is resisted, and our common Christianity is dishonoured and impeded."

About the time when the Congregational Union held its autumnal meeting, the British organization of the Evangelical Alliance was convened under the presidency of the late Sir Culling Eardley, Bart. When this association was first inaugurated, the question of American slave-holding, as affecting membership, was warmly discussed; leading to the exclusion of all who held slaves. The committee of the Paris branch now interposed a plea against sympathy with any organization in the slave-holding States which should approve of slavery. The action taken in the Alliance in September, 1862, did not satisfy the French correspondents, and led to private remonstrances. Disappointment, in some quarters, induced a movement for the formation of a "Committee of Correspondence on American Affairs," consisting of earnest friends of emancipation among Christians of all evangelical denominations. Some information was thus diffused, and the sympathies of many were ascertained. Friends of America and of the slave were stimulated to action, who did not wish to confine their co-operation to religious designations; and hence arose "the Emancipation Society" of London, willing to work with "the Anti-Slavery Society," or

any other kindred organization, and "the Union and Emancipation Society of Manchester." These societies proceeded in right earnest to raise funds, and with efficiency to pursue their benevolent object. They prepared and published lectures, tracts, and documents, fitted to impart knowledge. They convened meetings in large halls, in chapels, school and lecture rooms, in the metropolis and in the provinces; and invited some of the most distinguished and well qualified advocates of freedom to lend their assistance by writing and by lectures in all parts of the country. One of the members, holding relation to both societies, having occasion to visit Paris, and enjoying the friendship of highly honoured Protestant pastors in that city, availed himself of repeated intercourse with the enlightened and earnest friends of universal liberty in that metropolis, to suggest a reconsideration of the claims of the champions of emancipation in the United States. He was most cordially sustained by Frederick Monod, G. Monod, George Fisch, Grandpierre, Eug. Bersier, De Pressense, Pulsford, and Rognon, all of them pastors and honoured Christians. Ultimately they issued a letter for the signature of ministerial brethren throughout France, which was signed by more than seven hundred and fifty Protestant pastors; and, through the hands of their correspondent, it was laid before the committees of the two "Emancipation" societies and published in several newspapers. The document deserves a place in the records of anti-slavery agitation. It was entitled—

"TO THE MINISTERS AND PASTORS OF ALL EVANGELICAL
DENOMINATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

"Paris, February 12, 1863.

"Honoured and beloved Brethren in the Lord,—It is the glory of England to have given to the world the example of abolishing first the slave trade, and then slavery.

PROTESTANT CLERGY OF FRANCE.

It is her glory to have continued for the last sixty years the work of suppressing universally the slave trade and slavery, at a cost, it is asserted, of fifty millions of pounds sterling. And it is, under God, chiefly to her religious men, to her Clarksons, her Wilberforces, her Buxtons, to her missionary societies, that England owes this glory. Will not the sons and successors of these great Christians complete their work, by urging their country to declare itself openly for the holy cause of the liberation of the slave in the terrible struggle which is at present convulsing the United States of America?

"No more revolting spectacle has ever been set before the civilized world than a confederacy, consisting mainly of Protestants, forming itself, and demanding independence in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, with a professed design of maintaining and propagating slavery; a confederacy which lays down, as the cornerstone of its constitution, the system of slavery as it exists at present in the Southern States—a system which may be defined briefly as the right to treat men like cattle, and to commit adultery and murder with impunity. Setting aside all political considerations, can any Christian heart fail to be stirred to indignation at hearing the chief of that confederacy answering a decree of emancipation by an implied threat of extermination?

"The triumph of such a cause would put back the progress of Christian civilization and of humanity a whole century. It would make angels weep in heaven, and demons rejoice in hell. It would enable the friends of the slave trade and of slavery in all lands to hold up their heads, ever ready as they are to reappear at the first signal, in Asia, in Africa, and even in the great cities of Europe. It would give a fatal blow to the work of evangelical missions. And what frightful responsibility would rest on the church which should remain a silent spectator of such a triumph!

"If there is a peaceable means of hastening the end of the war, and of rendering its issue such as is desired by all the friends of humanity, is it not that the sincere Christians of Europe should give to the cause of emancipation a powerful testimony which would leave to those who fight for the right of oppressing the slaves no hope of

ever seeing those Christians give them the hand of fellowship.

"Ministers and pastors of all the Evangelical denominations of England, Scotland, and Ireland,—it is here we need your assistance. Take the lead, and let us call forth a great and peaceful manifestation of sympathy for the coloured race, so long oppressed and debased by Christian nations. Let us thus discourage the partisans of slavery. Let us strengthen and encourage those who wish to abolish it, at the same time disposing them to listen to our suggestions. It is in free England that such manifestations can be powerful. What may we not hope for if, throughout Great Britain, the voice of all the ministers of the crucified Saviour—and in France, our voice echoing theirs—pray and plead that soon there may no longer be in the United States a coloured man that is not free and equal with the whites!

"May God grant it, and may his blessing rest alike on Great Britain and the United States, in Christ, the true Liberator!

"Attested by Grandpierre, Pasteur; G. Monod, Pasteur Suffragant, Paris; Louis Rognon, Pasteur; Louis Pulsford; Fred. Monod, Pasteur; Eug. Bersier.

"Paris, March 13, 1863."

The Committee of the London Emancipation Society resolved that funds should be appropriated to secure a suitable response to the French appeal. A conference of ministers, being Members of the Society, was convened at their offices; and it was by them resolved, that a reply should be sent forth for signature throughout the United Kingdom. The draft of the document was prepared by the chairman, the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, M.A., and, with some modifications, unanimously adopted in the terms following:—

"Dear Brethren,—We, whose names are undersigned, share in your views, we rejoice in your zeal, and we are thankful for your exhortations. It is honourable to France and to French Protestantism, that you so heartily wish the destruction of the Slave system, which makes Four Mil-

lions of negroes wretched, debases their masters, has been a vast calamity to a great Protestant nation, and dishonours Christ, by whose professed servants it is upheld.

"Like yourselves, we feel a deep compassion for the slaves, who are a part of the human family; we wish by all means in our power to discourage those who are seeking to found an empire on their degradation; and we wish success to all just and humane measures for their deliverance.

"With these sentiments, we beg to assure you, that, following where you have so nobly taken the lead, we shall do what we can to accomplish those benevolent objects to which you invite our attention.

"Accept our fraternal wishes that you may enjoy the favour and blessing of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Sub-Committees of the London and Manchester Emancipation Societies now devoted the needful energies and time to circulate this response, and solicit the approving signature of ministers in all Britain. By publication in newspapers, and by private letters, addressed probably to thirteen thousand ministers, the application was widely made; and finally, more than four thousand attested names were appended as subscribers to the letter replying to the French pastors. The names of French and British adherents, and the documents to which they were attached, were inserted in the "Manchester Times and Examiner" as an advertisement.

In London and in Manchester, simultaneously but independently, the question was anxiously considered, what further measures should be taken with relation to these national tokens of fraternal sympathy and intercourse. Facilities were provided in the latter place with promptitude; and, as the conference at London had resolved that it should continue in permanence, ready to be called together again, the convener, then appointed, agreed to issue the circular requisite to give effect to this resolution. The summons was sent to all such as were associated in name

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or co-operation with the two Societies, and others whom it was hoped to enlist. A conference assembled in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on the 3rd of June, and the Rev. Richard Slate of Preston, as the senior Congregational minister in the county of Lancaster, was voted to the chair. After deliberation by the whole assembled ministers and by a sub-committee, carefully selected, the "Address to Ministers and Pastors of all Christian Denominations throughout the States of America," was unanimously adopted:—

"ADDRESS TO MINISTERS AND PASTORS OF ALL CHRISTIAN
DENOMINATIONS THROUGHOUT THE STATES OF AMERICA.

"Dear Brethren,—The letter which emanated from the French Protestant pastors, and was signed by 750 from all parts of France, was addressed to ministers and pastors of all evangelical denominations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and designed to urge them to take the lead in 'a great and peaceful manifestation of sympathy for the coloured race, so long oppressed and debased by Christian nations.' They desired by this means to 'discourage the partizans of slavery,' and 'strengthen and encourage those who wish to abolish it, at the same time persuading them to listen to friendly suggestions.' No such combination of names and objects ever previously occurred in the intercourse of Europe; and surely a letter, so universally approved, deserves the most respectful and considerate attention. It is the utterance of pure Christian philanthropy, and breathes the spirit of divine benevolence—not alone for the negro, but also for all who may be involved in his doom.

"It was brought under consideration of a conference, convened of such ministers as had adhered to the London Emancipation Society, all of whom were invited who were in London. The Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, M.A., presided, and the unanimous decision was that a brief reply, then submitted, should be adopted and issued, to accompany the letter from the French clergy to all Protestant ministers of every denomination in Great Britain and Ireland.

"The aim of the reply was to avow a deep compassion for the slaves, as part of the human family; to discourage, by all means in the power of the subscribers, those who are seeking to found an empire on their degradation; and to express the desire for success to all just and humane measures for their deliverance. The letter and the reply have been widely circulated, and the adhesion of ministerial names has been solicited among all Protestant ministers. Many may have overlooked the application as a common printed circular, but already about four thousand attested names have been subscribed.

"Both documents concur in representing slavery as a calamity to the nation in which it exists, and as dishonouring Christ when upheld by any of his servants; while they denounce the system because it gives to man the opportunity to treat his fellow-men as cattle, and often to commit adultery and murder with impunity. The census of the United States, taken in 1860, gives the number of slaves as 3,953,760 men, women, and children, reputed, as we understand, the property of 350,000 slaveholders. These millions are all liable to be sold and bought at an auction mart, in lots or severally, at the pleasure of the traffickers, every feeling of delicacy, every endearment of parental and filial tenderness and dependence being crushed, violated, and set at nought; doomed to toil, suffer, and die for the gain and at the caprice of another. These poor victims are not our immediate kindred, but they are our fellow-men, whom their Creator hath made of the same blood with ourselves; and by the laws of Providence they are marked as our neighbours, whom God (who is over all) hath commanded us to love as ourselves; while the standard is inflexible for them as it is imperative for all—'as ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' We have not been left to abstract reasonings or conjecture to form our opinion of the wrongs inflicted by slavery on these millions, but are warranted to accept the description given by President Jefferson, in his prophetic augury of what awaited his country when he exclaimed, 'What an incomprehensible machine is man! who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him

through his trial, and inflict on his fellow-men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose. But we must wait with patience the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that He is preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall have involved Heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or at length by his exterminating thunders, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality.'

"The friends of America in France and Britain looked anxiously to her statesmen and patriots, hoping that they might soon inaugurate the era when slavery should be doomed, as it had been denounced by her philanthropists; and that its abettors, enlightened and warned, would seek a peaceful solution of their great national problem. The United States had already contended with and overcome greater difficulties than might be found in the enfranchisement of the negro population. Their national independence had been secured amidst many dangers and sacrifices. They had opened paths in the primeval forest, reared cities in the wilderness, and found ports in every part of the world for their produce and commerce. They had risen from being a colony of outcast pilgrim fathers to occupy an equality with the greatest nations, and be welcomed as an ally with the most renowned empires on the earth. Their sails were unfurled, and their standard floated in every region, on every sea, and before every wind. They had become a great nation, and might legitimately contemplate the noblest and most philanthropic achievements. Yet the foul blot of slavery remained upon their banner.

"Strangers should not presumptuously intermeddle in political debate as to the power, prerogatives, or relative obligations of the several states in Federal union. The language and declarations of official men, however, and the ordinances of seceding States, are published. South Carolina leading, Alabama, Texas, and Virginia following, avow slavery as the origin of the strife; and the intention of the war was declared by Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, vice-pre-

sident of this Confederacy, when he exulted in the 'fact that the new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea to the old constitution; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man, that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition.' Our solemn conviction is that no darker nor more dreary calamity could threaten any nation or people on earth than the successful establishment of a republic whose corner-stone is the slavery of the working man. The curse thus entailed would extend its poisonous influence far beyond the utmost range of the black population, and involve in moral degradation, corruption, and bondage, not only all the white people, rich and poor, but the government ruling them, the States holding friendly relation with them, and the merchants made rich by their merchandise and depending on their favour.

"But we cordially congratulate the statesmen and Christians of America that already the shadows begin to disperse, and the cloud is edged with the radiance of a brighter day. Slavery has been abolished by the wisdom of the ruler and legislature in the district of Columbia, the representative centre of the Republic. In the year 1860 the census numbered 3185 slaves as resident there; but they are all free now, as are the negroes working in national arsenals and fortresses, the price of liberty being compensated from the exchequer of the Union to the former owner, while we rejoice to learn that the liberated men show themselves able to appreciate their freedom. We congratulate the people of England and America that slave-trading vessels are now subjected to the right of search by reciprocal treaty between the two governments, in such latitudes on the high seas as were formerly scoured with impunity under the American flag. The sea pirate knows, too, that already has capital punishment overtaken one adventurer who thus violates the law. We look now to the territories of the republic as lands sacred to freedom, destined to become the homes of industry, commerce, and Christian fellowship, since the American legislature and the President have guarded them by laws which henceforward will bar from them the intrusion and pollution of slavery. It is well that thus recently have the Christian Indians

been taught to exclude from their communities those who would practise slaveholding and traffic, which they had learned from the slavedealing white. Emancipation, too, is already a state provision in Western Virginia, embodied as an organic law in her constitution, when admitted by the signature of Mr. Lincoln to the Union two months ago.

"We read with deep and prayerful interest the proclamation of emancipation by the President, and rejoice that, notwithstanding the fears entertained by some good men, the results have been so beneficial. It has already brought liberty to myriads, who were held in bondage. The first day of 1863 will be identified with the name of Abraham Lincoln in the history of many future citizens of the United States. If the opinion of Mr. Attorney-General Bates be established as law, that any man born within the recognized territory of the United States is a citizen, then we must anticipate henceforth even that the negro, who is a man and a brother, will be also able to say, 'I am an American,' in the hour of threatened danger. May the day soon come, as longed for, when the President's counsel will be accepted, and the measure he recommends be made law, that all loyal states may emancipate their bondsmen, and the whole Union be willing to share the responsibility and expense! Even now, hundreds of thousands of negroes, slaves when Mr. Lincoln first occupied the presidential chair, are not only freed men but also servants of the state, and actively co-operating for the redemption of their native country. They are Americans, though coloured men, and ready to make every sacrifice for the restoration of peace, the establishment of liberty, and the triumph of equitable government. Men they are, whom the diplomatic representatives of Hayti and Liberia, now admitted to the brotherhood of American nations, when associated with ambassadors of imperial sovereigns, need not fear to recognize as kindred people at the capital of the American republic. Let the rulers and statesmen of the North persevere in such policy, pursue the course of equity, freedom, and universal liberty; and especially endeavour to requite the African people by a God-like benevolence for the ten thousand wrongs which have been inflicted on them, and they will find it both more pleasant and more safe and easy to do justice, to love mercy, to undo the heavy

burdens, and let the oppressed go free, than it is to do evil with both hands. With what renovated energy, with what moral power, with what hallowed consistency and honourable courage will the whole nation then be able to rise to their highest destiny! Then will the work of righteousness be peace, and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever; and the people shall dwell in a peaceable habitation, in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting-places. The greatness of the country will be then identified with goodness, and its name will be as ointment poured forth. It will have wiped from its banner every stain inconsistent with liberty, to which heretofore the finger of derision has been pointed, and will have established for its leaders a claim to the admiration of all enlightened men, as the benefactors of a long oppressed and injured people. It is the duty of American statesmen and Christian ministers (which all these considerations emphatically enforce) to guard against any reaction in the policy of emancipation, when arrangements, consequent on the termination of the present war, may come under discussion. A retrograde course would assuredly give a triumph to the adversaries of freedom, and put to shame all who have sympathized in the progress of the cause of the slave.

“RICHARD SLATE, Chairman.”

The large hall was crowded in the evening by more than six thousand persons, Thomas Bayley Potter, Esq., in the chair; and to them the proceedings of the conference and the address were reported. The approval of the latter was signified by three rounds of cheering. There was, however, a noisy opposition, conducted by Mr. J. Barker. The sub-committee, who had conducted the preliminaries to this conference, took into consideration the manner in which the address should be most effectually conveyed to America; and the result of their deliberations was a request that Dr. Massie, London, and the Rev. J. H. Rylance, St. Paul's, Lambeth, should be the bearers of the message of fraternal counsel to the friends of freedom in the midst of their present conflict. The principles of their mission,

and the manner in which they should conduct it, were indicated in the letter of instructions which was put into the hands of Dr. Massie. The Emancipation Society of London expressed their concurrence in the appointment which had been made, and sent after Dr. Massie a resolution expressing their approval, which is added to the following letter of instructions.

"TO THE REVEREND JAMES W. MASSIE, D.D., LL.D. AND
TO THE REVEREND J. H. RYLANCE.

"DEAR SIRS,—I have the pleasure to hand you a copy of a Resolution unanimously adopted by the sub-Committee charged with the arrangements for the Anti-Slavery Conference,* by which you will see that you are appointed a

* *Resolved*—"That the Rev. Dr. Massie and the Rev. J. H. Rylance be requested kindly to take charge of the Address to the 'Ministers and Pastors of all Christian Denominations throughout the States of America,' unanimously adopted by the Ministerial Conference, and acting as a deputation to the United States for that purpose, to take such steps as may appear to them desirable to place the Address in the hands of such leading ministers as, from their recognized social and public position, may be able to secure the co-operation of ministers of all denominations and of all political parties, and that a letter of instructions be drawn up, guarding the deputation most carefully against anything like the appearance of dictation to the United States on the question of Slavery, or of interference with any party differences on the mode of its extinction, and pointing out the propriety of limiting themselves to the formal presentation of the Address to such ministers as they may agree upon, and of leaving all public proceedings to be initiated and directed by the United States' ministers themselves, and either taking part in these proceedings or otherwise, as may be advised by such ministers.

"That Mr. Potter, as Chairman of the public Anti-Slavery meeting on the 3rd instant, be requested to forward a copy of the Proceedings of the Ministerial Conference and a Report of the Public Meeting to the President of the United States."

deputation to convey the address adopted by the conference to such ministers in the United States as, after due consideration, you may consider best suited to further the end in view, namely, to bring the proceedings of the conference and its address before ministers of all Christian denominations throughout the States, without regard to any party distinctions.

"I apprehend your first object will be to place yourselves in communication with three or four clergymen and ministers of high standing, who may be regarded as representative men, great care being taken to select such as, by their reputation for moderation, will secure the co-operation of all sects and political parties.

"You will then, of course, place all the documents in their hands; and, after frank and friendly conference, leave the initiation of all ulterior proceedings to them.

"Should they advise any public demonstration, I apprehend you will be prepared to acquiesce in such arrangements as they may make; but I would strongly urge that you should make it manifest in all your proceedings, and in all public announcements, that on American ground you are acting a subordinate part, and should let Americans themselves occupy the foreground.

"The American public would be justly sensitive of anything like an attempt to school them into Abolitionism, and great care will be needful to prevent any misconstruction of your object in this respect. You are embarked on a mission of good-will and Christian friendship; and, whilst you will faithfully represent the nature and object of the various addresses you bear, you will see the propriety of carefully abstaining from even appearing to dictate to America the mode in which they are ultimately to free themselves from the curse of slavery. That is a question purely for themselves, and not for foreigners. No doubt public opinion in America is ripening fast on the subject of Slavery, and is fast approaching that state when no political party can be said to favour Slavery. There are, however, two great political parties, representing different degrees of hostility towards the system, and it would be most unwise to give the more moderate party the opportunity of connecting the distrust of England, which has been fostered in the United States by the misrepresentations of our own

press on the questions at issue between North and South, with the Abolitionist party, and thereby retard the consummation devoutly wished for by all sincere friends of negro emancipation.

"The earnest desire of all true philanthropists is to bridge over the differences between these two great parties, and thus to secure the end in view; and, as a means to this end, you would, of course, dwell on that part of our Address which recognizes the substantial progress which has been made towards abolition.

"One great object of your mission will be, whilst maintaining a due regard to the dignity of our own country, and a position of perfect neutrality as regards direct interference in the war, to calm down this feeling of distrust by an assurance that, notwithstanding these misrepresentations, the heart of England is still true on the question of slavery, and whatever causes of irritation may float on the surface, any real rupture between the two countries would be regarded with unmitigated sorrow.

"I would just suggest, in conclusion, as indirectly connected with your mission, that much good would arise to ourselves, and great benefit to future generations, if materials for history could be collected and arranged in a calm, unbiassed, and philanthropic spirit, representing the true state of public feeling on the great questions now seeking solution in America by the fierce arbitrament of the sword, and the precise stand-point which has been reached both socially and politically during this great crisis in the history of the Republic. The previous experience of one of your number, and his intimate knowledge of American society before the rebellion, leads me to hope that something of this kind may be attempted.—I am, dear sirs, yours truly,

"THOMAS BAYLEY POTTER.

"*Manchester*, June 13th, 1863."

"THE EMANCIPATION SOCIETY."

"At a Meeting of the Committee of the Emancipation Society held at the Offices, 65, Fleet-street, London, on Monday, June 16th, 1863, it was resolved—

"That this committee, entertaining the highest appre-

ciation of the eminent services which the Rev. Dr. Massie has by his zeal and ability rendered to all the objects it has in view, and recognizing in him one of the oldest living advocates of the great cause of negro emancipation in this country, gladly avails itself of the opportunity presented by his mission to the United States on behalf of the conferences of ministers at London and Manchester, to commend him to the warmest sympathies and cordial co-operation of the friends of freedom in America.

“ (Signed by direction and on behalf of the Committee,) ”

“ WILLIAM EVANS, *Chairman.* ”

“ F. W. CHESSON, *Hon. Secretary.* ”

WELCOME TO SYMPATHY.

AND the tears are in my eyes,
 When I think you sympathize
 With my country, rent and torn
 By dissension's cruel thorn :
 Bleeding fast.
 God alone can tell how fast,
 Possibly her best and last
 Patriot blood. O God ! I bless,
 In this hour of our distress,
 Our confusion, loss, and strain,
 Shuddering hopes and throbbing pain,
 Thee I bless that o'er the main,
 Comes one honest human tone,
 Freedom's, Truth's, Religion's own,
 Us to cheer !
 Thus across the troubled water,
 I, America's sad daughter,
 From our fields of death and slaughter,
 Stretch my hand
 Gratefully to you——.

PAMELA S. VINING.

CHAPTER I.

FACTS TO BE KNOWN AND CONSIDERED.

THERE are in the United States constitutional questions and political denominations which rise to the surface of society: for a right comprehension of which, a familiar knowledge of facts and opinions is requisite. But without this knowledge much confusion will prevail where the authority of declamatory partisans is accepted. Political antagonists, aiming at ascendancy, have been prominent there, as Whigs and Democrats, Know Nothings and Free Soilers, Americans and Republicans; and even among philanthropists, seeking freedom for the slave, Abolitionists and Emancipationists have been discriminated as occupying different claims in the anti-slavery conflict. The peace Democrat is reputed of a different school from the war Democrat, in more recent classifications; and the Republican is more favourable to the present administration than even the latter, since he is the champion of the constitution as settled by Madison, Jefferson, and Washington, which claims the people in all the states as its constituents; while the Democrat is supposed to maintain the doctrine of *State rights*, and that states are paramount to the Federal Government. Great authorities may be cited in support of the republican interpretation. Mr. Madison held, that after a state had consented to the form of constitution agreed to by the Convention of 1787, it was bound by it. "Should all the states adopt it," he said, "it will then be a government established by the thirteen states of America; not through the intervention of the legislatures, but by the

people at large." Mr. Washington had given this version his solemn sanction when he affirmed—

"To the efficacy and permanency of your Union a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate Union and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. . . . The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and alter their constitution of government; but the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the right and the power of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government."

Elsewhere Washington reminded the people that their constitution contains a provision for its own amendment, so that the "established government," of which he speaks, must for ever be the actual expression of the will of the whole people or of a majority of the whole. That provision is found in Art. v.

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress."

It was unnecessary to resort to rebellion, or secession, or war, that changes might be effected, according to the wishes of the people, or the exigencies of the times. Misconduct in the rulers could be exposed and unqualified

officials had but a short time to exercise their power. These were, however, not the causes of Southern revolt, for Mr. Alexander H. Stephens frankly admitted that the South had always possessed the control of the Government; had a majority of the presidents chosen from among themselves, and the management of most of those chosen from the North; had sixty years of presidents, while the North had only twenty-four; had eighteen judges of the Supreme Court and only eleven sprung from the North, and this they had required to guard against any interpretation of the Constitution unfavourable to Southern interests. Presidents of the Senate had been twenty-four for the South, against eleven for the North; and speakers of the house twenty-three to twelve; attorney-generals fourteen for the South, against five for the North; and foreign ministers eighty-six to fifty-four; though three-fourths of the business requiring diplomatic agencies abroad were from the free states. The higher officers of army and navy were, by a vast majority, men of the South, while the soldiers and sailors were Northerners. More than two-thirds of clerks, auditors, comptrollers filling the executive departments, two thousand out of three, for the last fifty years, have been nominees of the South, though only one-third of the white population of the entire country belonged to the South, and more than three-fourths of the revenue collected for the support of the Government have uniformly been raised from the North. These are admissions made by Mr. Stephens, after Mr. Lincoln had been elected, and in answer to himself at the time when Mr. Stephens inquired—

“What right has the North assailed? What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied? And what claim founded in justice and right has been withheld? Can either of you to-day name one governmental act of wrong deliberately and purposely done by the Government of Washington, of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge the answer.”

It is strange, that a man proclaiming such views and facts, should yet so soon after accept the vice-presidency of the rebellious confederacy? Some other potent cause, adequate to the occasion must have influenced him and the other leaders to this final and fatal secession. For a brief season Anglican sympathizers with them, imported into the representation of their motives the Morrill tariff, and the protectionist policy of Northern manufacturers.

The itinerant orators of the South have great faith in the powers of perversion, when remembering the admissions of Mr. H. A. Stephens already recited, they stand up in public assemblies, and affirm that taxation had been imposed upon the Southern States by the North; that thus heavy duties have been laid (by the North) upon every article made in Great Britain and Europe, and a line of policy has been adopted to make the South buy the commodities manufactured in the North at the prices fixed by them; and gradually the tariff has been fixed so high as to render it difficult in the extreme for Southerners to obtain articles of European manufacture!

At the close of the year 1859 there was much nervous excitement in Congress about the state of the country apprehending civil war. Mr. Buchanan was still president. A select committee of thirty-three—one member of Congress from each of the states—was appointed to ascertain if possible how the differences could be removed, and what the South demanded. The deliberations and inquiries of this committee were embodied in a report; they had continued in session from 11th December, 1859, till 14th January, 1860. The Slave States had been asked what they wanted. Their grievances from first to last all referred to the maintenance of slavery, demanding from the North powers to increase slavery, to extend it and make treaties with foreign powers requiring the surrender of escaped slaves—slavery throughout, and not one syllable about the tariff or taxa-

tion, but slavery was only the burden of complaint from the Southern States and by their representatives. The champions of their cause in England are wiser.

The bait was probably designed for the free trade portion of the British people; but it was not warranted by the allegations of the Southerners themselves. Mr. Jefferson Davis, Mr. Cushing, Mr. Crittenden and Mr. Stephens, being witnesses, we have a uniform testimony that the interests of slave-holding and slave-dealing proprietors were the dominating motive in their proceedings; and *that* not only to maintain slavery as it had been, but to extend the area of its operations, and to render all the lands and states of the Republic subordinate to its maintenance, and all the functionaries and operations of law, and all the people and revenues of the United States, subject to its ministration, enforcement, and promotion: such must be the end and design of the American Union. Mr. Jefferson Davis had in 1858, at Jackson, warned the slave-holders of his state in words of plain and direct significance:—

“If an *abolitionist* be chosen president of the United States, you will have presented to you the question of whether you will permit the government to pass into the hands of your avowed and implacable enemies. Without pausing for an answer, I will state my own position to be that such a result would be a species of revolution by which the purposes of government would be destroyed, and the mere forms entitled to no respect. In that event, in such a manner as should be most expedient, I should deem it your duty to provide for your safety *outside the Union*.”

He again offered on the 22nd December, 1860, in the Congress of the United States, before he retired to effect and perfect his rebellion, his *ultimatum*:—

“That it shall be declared by *amendment* of the constitution that *property in slaves*, recognized as such by the *local law* of any of the states of the Union, shall stand on the same footing in all *constitutional* and *federal* relations as any other *species of property* so recognized; and, like other pro-

perty, shall not be subject to be divested or impaired by the local law of any other State, either in escape thereto or by the transit or sojourn of the owner therein. And in no case whatever shall such property be subject to be divested or impaired by any legislative act of the United States, or any of the territories thereof."

Mr. John Crittenden, a Senator from Kentucky, interposed as mediator from a slave state, with a design to meet difficulties by a compromise, and proposed—

"1. That by amendment of the constitution, *slavery* should be allowed and recognized in *all* the territory south of latitude 36 degrees 30 minutes.

"2. That Congress should have no power to abolish *slavery* in the States permitting it.

"3. That Congress should have no power to abolish *slavery* in the district of Columbia, while it exists in Virginia and Maryland; nor to prohibit the officers of the government and members of Congress from bringing slaves therein, and holding *them* as such.

"4. That Congress should have *no* power to hinder the transportation of *slaves* from one State to another, by land, or navigable rivers, or sea.

"5. That Congress should have full power to pay to the owner of any fugitive *slave* the full value thereof, when the national officer is prevented arresting such fugitive.

"6. That Congress should *never* have power to interfere with *slavery* in the states where it is now *permitted*.

"7. That the *right* to have property in *men* should be legal, not only in the territory *then* in possession, but also in *all* territory to be *thereafter* acquired."

Mr. Cushing had been Attorney-General of the United States; and was, at the beginning of the present struggle, a leading member of Legislature in South Carolina. In his own name he had declared, "The Union is in danger, not by reason of invasion from abroad, but from revolution at home, produced by a conflict of opinion and action between the Northern and Southern states as to slave labour, which exists in Southern states alone;" and on the 20th of December, 1860, when South Carolina seceded and issued her Address, he joined in language which leaves no doubt what caused the conflict.

"Agitation on the subject of slavery in the South is the natural result of a consolidation of government. Experience has proved that slave-holding states cannot be safe in subjection to non-slave-holding states. The people of the North have not left us in doubt as to their designs and policy. In the late presidential election they have elected as an exponent of their policy one who has openly declared that all the states of the United States must be free states ;" not one word about tariffs, commercial grievances, or different interests. "Citizens of the slave-holding states of the United States, Providence has cast our lot together by extending over us an identity of pursuits, interests, and institutions. South Carolina desires no destiny separated from yours. *To be one of a great Slave-holding Confederacy, stretching its arms over a territory larger than any power in Europe possesses*, with productions which make our existence more important to the world than that of any other people inhabiting it, with common institutions to defend, and common dangers to encounter, we ask your sympathy and federation. United together, and we must be the most independent, as we are the most important, amongst the nations of the world: united together, and we require no other instrument to conquer peace than our beneficent productions. We ask you to join us in forming a *Confederacy of Slave-holding States*."

New converts are often more explicit and frank than their masters, and Mr. A. H. Stephens inaugurated his adhesion to the new doctrine, when he had accepted the vice-presidency of the Confederacy, in language which cannot be misunderstood. With vaunting triumph he proclaimed:—

"Our new government is founded on the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man, that slavery is his natural and normal condition. Our new government is the first in the history of the world based on this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. This stone, which the first builders rejected, is become the chief stone of the corner in our new edifice. Negro slavery is but in its infancy. We ought to increase and expand our institutions. All nations when they cease to grow begin to die. We should, then, endeavour to expand and grow. Central America, Mexico, are all open to us."

Dr. Palmer, New Orleans, confirmed the doctrine of Mr. Stephens:—

"The providential trust of the South is to perpetuate the institution of domestic slavery as now existing, with freest scope for its natural development. We should at once lift ourselves intelligently to the highest moral ground, and proclaim to all the world that we hold this trust from God, and in its occupancy are prepared to stand or fall. These slaves form part of our households, even as our children. It is a duty we owe to ourselves, to our slaves, to the world, to Almighty God, to preserve and transmit our existing system of domestic servitude, with the right, unchallenged by man, to go and root itself wherever Providence and nature may carry it."

Further demonstration of the *Southern* cause of the present conflict cannot be required by the candid inquirer. Slavery—its perpetuation and undisputed sovereignty in the whole United States—is the huge and disfigured idol of allegiance which the leaders of secession required all America to worship.

The response given to this demand by the constituted authorities of the Union, is clearly, tersely, and emphatically expressed in the almost unanimous vote of both houses of Congress by a resolution, which has since been endorsed by majorities in the suffrages of every loyal state:—

"Resolved, That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States, now in arms against the constitutional government, and in arms around the capital; that in this national emergency, Congress, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest, or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those states, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several states, unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease."

Some writers, and others who claim to speak in the

interests of peace and humanity, who dwell with much pathos on the horrors of *American* war, and profess to deplore the multitudes who have been slain on both sides, have urged that the seceding states should be allowed to depart, and have enforced this project by the incongeniality of character and temperament between the North and South, ascribing a *chivalrous* lineage and bearing to the latter, and a diversity of habit in their several pursuits; alleging also the vastness of American territory as affording scope for both, and anticipating that two competing Republics would be a check on each other for the welfare of other countries; and that the South would be compelled to abolish slavery. There may be other occult or latent reasons instigating the advocates of such a policy from among the admirers of aristocratic and hereditary distinctions, and of established religions, and conservative politics. But the answer to the proposal must come from the Americans themselves. Observant and impartial philanthropists, as well as the avowed advocates of negro emancipation and friends of Africa, might have suggestions to make, not impertinent or captious, in such a discussion. There are states which have remained in or have returned to the Union, which have been called slave states, and have interests involved in the settlement of the present strife. A large part of Virginia, Florida, and Louisiana, all Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, East Tennessee, and the lands which give the undisputed control of the Mississippi, belong to Federal government, and the people, white and coloured, dwelling there, are its subjects, to whom an equitable administration of all the advantages of a good government are due. In the states involved in rebellion there are said to be many thousands groaning under oppression, faithful in heart and purpose to the Federal authority, and waiting for its restoration where they dwell. Can a paternal government surrender those

who have never broken their allegiance? or can it leave the feeble and helpless victims of oppression, brought into bondage by its former abuse of power, to continue sufferers of a brutal thralldom which threatens their utter destruction? Mr. Moreheart, an emissary from the South, affirmed that he had been one of a deputation to negotiate terms of peace with Mr. Lincoln, the President. His testimony must be left for what it is worth; but he tells us—

“We appealed to him [Mr. Lincoln] to give the guarantees which were demanded by the Southern men in this peace conference. He said that he was willing to give a constitutional guarantee that slavery should not be molested in any way, directly or indirectly, in the states; that he was willing to go further, and give a guarantee that it should not be molested in the district of Columbia; that he would go still further, and say that it should not be disturbed in the docks, arsenals, forts, and other places within the slaveholding states; but as for slavery in the territories, that his whole life was dedicated in opposition to its extension there; that he was elected by a party which had made that a portion of its platform, and he should consider that he was betraying that party if he ever agreed, under any state of the case, to allow slavery to be extended in the territories.”

Whatever truth may be in this representation, it cannot be questioned that the President had duties towards the loyal people in the slave and free states, toward negroes who confided in the platform which he avowed, and their coloured kindred and uncoloured guardians, who had obtained their confidence. The free and loyal citizens of the United States had then, and have still, a voice in the deliberations which are occasioned by the war of slavery.

Moreover, before those who claim the reputation of friends of the negro, and consistent advocates of the emancipation of the slave, and the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in all lands, can wisely urge a recognition of this Confederate slave power by any government, especially

the American, they must determine what are the boundaries demanded, and how they can be secured from the prey of the robber and man-stealer, and what shall be the security against the revival of the African slave trade and the extension of the curse into other lands.

How few Englishmen know the extent and geographical relation of the states for which secession is demanded, or the position of the territories yet unorganized into states; the relation of the arterial rivers and coast harbours which may be included in the coveted boundaries; and the extent to which the commerce of the principal cities might be affected by the inter-relations of the states stretching along these confines. By what process could we ascertain the proportion of white adherents to the Northern union shut up in the rebel states, or the negro population who have been transported from the land of their birth by slave traffic. If this birth made them citizens of the Republic, surely liberty to enjoy their rights should be guaranteed by the supreme authority. The principle involved in the right of secession is of essential moment to the integrity of the American Republic and the duty of resistance by constituted authorities; as also the responsibility of a representative government to the citizens by whom its members have been appointed, for the territory entrusted to their care, however its inhabitants may be located, and cannot be determined by a newspaper paragraph. Where mercenaries have been exhibited in the struggle by royal belligerents, it may be a small matter what their claims are internationally; but where citizens are arrayed in the battlefield, and the best blood of the nation has been consecrated to the issue, the question of compromise cannot be arbitrarily determined. Since the Parliamentary wars of England, between 1641 and 1656, there has not been so unquestionably a national appeal to the arbitrament of war. It is a figment of partizanship

to represent the army of the North as a band of mercenaries; prior to the conscription, the President's call for 75,000, and subsequently for volunteers for three years, or during the war, was responded to by the choicest flower of national loyalty and personal bravery. The United States' army, in its rank and file, as also in its noncommissioned and commissioned officers, was truly a representative of the national mind; and the young men who still consecrate their bravery and endurance to the service of the Union, testify what the electors of the Republic feel and think of the objects and end of the war. The President and his cabinet cannot ignore the opinions and services of these generous patriots. It may be true that the Southern armies have followed their officers—men trained in the schools and at the expense of the North or rather the Republic, and who, guilty of treason to their oath and honour, fight the more earnestly as they are renegades and traitors. It may also be indisputable that many officers of the North have received commissions by the patronage of state functionaries; yet the ten thousands that have fallen from the ranks, and the sons and kindred of the most distinguished and faithful citizens who have risked their all in the issue, demonstrate how universal is the purpose of the nation to subdue the rebellion. The army does not, it is true, consist only of soldiers moved by patriotism; others have joined in tens of thousands, and their number daily increases; but they, too, are the representatives of millions, whose claims cannot be justly set aside, and whose destiny is identified with the crushing of the rebellion and destruction of its cause. The coloured troops cannot be regarded as mercenaries or mere accessories to the strength of the army. When two hundred thousand of this class have been trained to arms and made to realize their position as principals in the conflict, the future constituency of the United States' army will have assumed an importance in

the measures of politicians which will secure consideration. The coloured regiments already occupy a place in the statesman's estimate of probabilities, and must have weight in any determination of the controversy between the rebels and the rulers.

It is not reasonable to anticipate that the loyal states will give up the old Federal Constitution, pull down the old flag, and run up the Confederate banner and adopt its constitution. Will they ever surrender the principle which accounts secession in a state, at its own discretion, impossible without treason; or will they yield up the right of the people to elect a president by a constitutional majority, and consent to nationalize slavery; and add to this the further sacrifice of the liberty of the press, and suppress the right of private opinion? Were all this possible would peace follow? Assuredly not; it would only excite a perpetual storm of agitation. "Abolitionism" would be roused like a giant refreshed with new wine. Dr. Bacon affirms, that—

"Though the martyrdoms for prohibition against slavery should be more numerous than the martyrdoms for Protestantism in the reign of Mary, or the martyrdoms for Christianity in the reign of Domitian, a host of living witnesses would spring from the ashes of every martyr; and 'fanaticism,' as you call it, would become ten times more fanatical and tenfold more contagious under the heat of persecution."

The passage which follows defies abridgment, and can only be expressed in the author's own words; but it is presented as the calm response of an American sage and divine, who is worthy of all honour, to the demand to consent to the attempted separation of the revolted states from the *Union*. At first sight it seems a hopeful method, and we are told "that after a few years of peace the dis-severed Union may begin to be restored."

"This method proposes that there shall be, henceforth, two nations in what is now one country. Think how those two nations will be related to each other. No natural barrier will hold them apart. Here an invisible parallel of latitude, there a river, there the height of land between two streams, will constitute the boundary. On the two sides of such a boundary, there will be two nations of kindred blood, with one language, with similar forms of government, at least for the present, but with systems of policy, at home and abroad, irreconcilably opposite. On one side of the line everything is subordinated to the institution of slavery; and the chief end of the national policy at home and abroad is to guard, to strengthen, and to propagate that barbarous institution. On the other side all are free; and society is jealous and sensitive for the liberty of the humblest individual. On one side is the slave-market, where men, women, and children are purchased of all comers, and no impertinent questions asked about where the merchandise came from. On the other side are free negroes—in all a quarter of a million, and perhaps three times as many—men, women, and little children, whose price, in a not distant market, will pay for the risk of stealing them. What will be the result? Is there anybody here too ignorant to answer? Can we live with a nation of kidnappers, separated from us only by that boundary line?

"And where shall that boundary line be drawn?—and how? Look on the map and see. Shall it cross the Mississippi, and sever the upper waters of that 'father of waters' from the lower? Think you that the people of the great north-western states, whose streams, descending from the Rocky Mountains on the west, and from the Alleghanies on the east, discharge themselves through that great continental artery into the gulf of Mexico, will ever permit a flag not theirs to wave over the fortresses that guard its entrance into the sea? That majestic river is the natural highway on which the wealth of their prairies, their forests, and their mines goes forth to mingle with the commerce of the world; and never will they consent that any other sovereignty than that of the United States shall hold the key that can shut the gate of their access to the ocean? By the force of a geographical necessity impressed upon the continent by its Creator, the Mississippi, from its head-

springs in the region of perpetual snows to its estuary in the climate of perpetual flowers, is an indissoluble bond of union to all the states along its course. Where then, and how shall the boundary line be drawn between the United States of liberty, and the proposed Confederate States of slavery? Look on the map again. Trace the long mountain ranges that break the surface of the states now held by this rebellion. This side of the Mississippi, those ranges proceeding from the north, stretch through the conterminous regions of Virginia and Kentucky, and of North Carolina and Tennessee, and only in Georgia and Alabama do they slope down toward the Southern gulf. On their rugged flanks are the homes of a hardy race of whom thousands are now in arms for the Union, and thousands more wait only for the opportunity and the summons. Such regions, in whatever land, are the natural retreats and fastnesses of liberty; and shall the dwellers in these mountains be given over to be ruled in the interest of slavery? How shall a boundary line be drawn across, or through, the Alleghanies, populous on all their slopes, and in all their valleys, with a free and laborious yeomanry, one in speech and lineage? A congress of sovereign monarchs may revise and reconstruct the map of Europe at their discretion—may separate provinces that have grown together for ages—may partition nationalities, giving one part to this jurisdiction, and another to that; but who shall do that sort of thing in America?

“But, supposing this difficulty to be surmounted, how shall the commerce and intercourse between two such nations be adjusted? All along that boundary, wherever it may be marked upon the map, there must be, on either side, a cordon of inland custom-houses and of military posts. On every highway from one country into the other, there must stand at that line an inspector and collector of customs. Along that line there must be large standing armies, confronting each other, and always ready for collision. What will be the result? How long will such a peace continue?

“There is yet a greater difficulty attendant on this method of conciliating the rebellion. No separation of the rebel states from the loyal, or of the slave states from the free—no separation of the South from the North by what-

ever boundary, can be agreed upon without a compact for the surrender of fugitive slaves. Then we must have, as we have now, a fugitive slave law. Do you say it is impossible to have such a law or such a compact? So I think; but till there is such a compact there can be no peace. Without such a compact, the great interest for which the rebellion was made, and which is to be the corner-stone of the new confederacy, will have gained nothing by the dissolution of the Union, and will have lost all its old security. Do you say that even if such a compact should be made, no fugitive slave law can be executed? I will not deny that I am of the same opinion; but let me ask you to think what the result will be if there is such a compact, and the government cannot or will not carry it into effect. Doubtless there are those who think not only that such a compact would be quite reasonable in a treaty with the revolted states, but also that every fugitive black man ought to be surrendered, without question or delay, to any white man that may take the trouble to pursue him. But who is there among us, so destitute of common sense as not to know that henceforward a compact with a foreign power for the extradition of fugitives from oppression, even if by any possibility it could be made, can never be carried into effect among the people of these states, otherwise than by mere force, suppressing and crushing the sense of justice in thoughtful and generous souls?

"Surely, then, the thought of conciliating those revolted states, and living in friendship with them by consenting to a separation, must be given up. We cannot live with such neighbours as they would be in that case.

"There remains one other method, and only one. The rebellion must be subdued. The constitution of the United States must be established as the supreme law of the land, the constitutional laws and government of the United States must be established (I was going to say re-established, but the word is inappropriate) wherever the rebellion is now dominant. God calls us to this duty and we must do it, or be recreant to Him. It is an arduous duty—no nation was ever called to a work more arduous, but we cannot escape from it. Every day is showing to us more and more how great the work is, and how much it will cost us; but there is no escaping from it, God has

shut us up to it, and we must do or die. We have already had some experience of the sacrifices which it involves, and our experience of sacrifice and of sorrow must be yet greater ere the work is finished.

"When will it be finished? When shall there be from the Arrostook to the Rio Grande, and from the Rock of the Pilgrims to the Golden Gate, one imperial nation, with one Federal constitution, and one destiny? I will tell you when.

"Our work of conflict will be finished when God's purpose shall have been wrought out. He who cannot see God in the calamities which have come upon us is an atheist. He who is not compelled to recognize in the conflict now pending God's providence over the world, may read all history and find no God in it. If there is in this world's history a plan and providence of God—if there is any progress of events toward a universal reign of justice—if the world, under God's government, is to grow better as it grows older—then this great crisis in our national history has not come but in the development of God's plan, nor will it pass till He shall have wrought out his own design.

"Our work of conflict will be finished, when God shall have sufficiently purified us in the furnace of this great calamity. He is cleansing us with his own baptism of fire, and till the cleansing is accomplished how can this conflict end? He is teaching us great lessons of public spirit, of self-sacrifice, of loyalty to principle and to the powers ordained of God, of contempt for the mean trade which knaves call politics, and of impartial reverence for the rights with which the Creator has invested every human soul. Not till we shall have learned those lessons of true manliness, will God's purpose be wrought out in its bearing on our welfare.

"Our work of conflict will be finished when God shall have wrought the destruction of slavery. I do not say that an act of Congress, or a proclamation from the President, can abolish slavery throughout the regions occupied by the rebellion. There is no need of raising any doubtful disputation on that question. In the providence of God it has come to pass that we are waging war, desperate war, for our Constitution, for our Union, for the principle of

popular self-government by free election, for our national existence. And whatever may be the purpose of our government in regard to slavery, whatever the purpose of this or that commanding general, whatever the purpose of one party or another among the people, however unwavering our determination to prosecute the war for no other purpose than that which was announced in our national manifesto, it is becoming every day more palpably manifest that in this war God has a purpose in regard to slavery, and that his purpose is marching to its consummation. The President may have his scruples about the Constitution—Congress may doubt how far the legislative power of the nation may be extended at this crisis—the people may dispute and be divided in opinion between theories of indefeasible state-rights and theories of state-suicide. But God is not compelled to work under our Federal Constitution. He is above our Constitution; and while we hesitate and know not what to do, the historic forces that are working out his purposes will not be hindered by our scruples. The work to which we are shut up, the awful duty from which we cannot escape, is war and nothing less. We are at war with a desperate and powerful enemy. Every hour the conflict grows more desperate. Just in proportion as the people, and the government, and the military commanders, awake to comprehend the fact that what we have on hand is not a riot to be quelled, but war in its direst reality—the strange delusion that we are nevertheless, and at all hazards, to be the faithful allies of our deadly and desperate enemies against their slaves, will lose its power. When that delusion is gone from us our enemies will know it, and their slaves will know it. I do not say that there will be a servile insurrection in our favour. I do not say that Congress will enact, or the President proclaim an ‘abolishment’ of slavery. It is enough that civil war will have its natural course. The millions of slaves now an inert machinery employed against us by our enemies will become a power, will choose for themselves which side to serve; and that choice, whether it be to serve the rebellion or to serve the Union, will be in effect the assertion of their liberty. Already thousands of slaves; in spite of all our scruples, have been emancipated by our armies; and as the war works out the natural results of a

protracted civil war, each party putting forth its utmost strength, tens of thousands more will gain their freedom on one side or the other. How is it possible for slavery to outlive such a war? The rebellion itself, in the rage and despair of its utmost agony, will be compelled to emancipate its slaves, and to proclaim the end of slavery."

The passage from Dr. Bacon illustrates the state of opinion, its rapid progress, and absorbing power, not merely in the ministerial mind but also in the most intelligent classes of the laity, mercantile and intellectual, in America. Few pastors sustain so high a reputation for maturity and sobriety of judgment, and for moderation and authoritative decision, as does Dr. Bacon; and his counsels and opinions have a weight among ministerial brethren, richly merited by a long course of ministerial activity and consistency. But the large congregation who sit under his ministry numbers among its members men of the highest mercantile position and influence in the United States. The recent development of sentiment with reference to slavery and its action in American society, is surprising to even those who are natives of the country; and cannot be imagined by casual and distant observers, far less by prejudiced and hostile aliens. Three years ago, or even two years since, the same truths could not safely have been stated in public assemblies, which are now not only accepted but welcomed by tokens of most cordial approval in some of the largest cities in the Union.

The political elements which operated in the election of Mr. Abraham Lincoln are but partially understood by *cis-Atlantic* critics; but they must be correctly apprehended before the political action of his administration can be properly appreciated. His difficulties in entering upon his office, and the perplexities which give an appearance of hesitation and dilatoriness in his decision and action, could be most reasonably explained by events and combinations, which were preliminary to his presidential appointment.

The canvass and near approach to success of Colonel Fremont indicated to him who was the successful candidate, and his sympathizers what might occur in 1860; and consequently they employed every means within their reach as government officials, first to prevent the triumph of the Republican party, and then to thwart the Executive under a new president. The alienation of finances and government stores of military munitions, and the scattering of ships and other naval and arsenal resources, were part of the plan. The antagonism cherished and strengthened among Democratic electors was legitimate opposition; but it was intensified by government influences: while honourable ambition stimulated other candidates and their adherents. Mr. William H. Seward was at first the favourite candidate of his own state, and had a fair prospect in others, but although he withdrew, four other competitors remained in the field. The English reader may be reminded that the term of a president's tenure of office is limited to four years. This was designed by the founders of the Republic to bring the policy of the government to the ordeal of the national suffrage: and, therefore, at such a season the political parties reduce the principles they desire to have grafted into the policy of the government, for the ensuing quadrennial term, to a series of resolutions known as a "platform." These various platforms are submitted to the solemn arbitration of the people of the United States, and from their decision there is no appeal. This was the course pursued in 1860; one portion of the Democratic party proclaimed the dogma that slavery was to be tolerated and protected in the territories; another wing of that party desired full national recognition, and protection of slavery *wherever* the constitutional authority might extend; and the Republican party proclaimed its intention, while refraining from interference with slavery in the states where it legally existed, of restricting it within those limits, and of recognizing it

not as a national institution, but as a creature of the *les loci*. All parties profess to appeal to the arbitration, to whose adverse decisions the North had repeatedly bowed; and when the voice of a constitutional majority of the people proclaimed its selection of the Republican ideas, all parties deferred to it except the Breckenridge Democrats: who, having proclaimed their platform, nominated their candidate, canvassed the country, and gone through all the usual forms of the contest, when the verdict was awarded, refused to abide by it, took up arms, fired the first shot at Fort Sumter, drew the first blood at Baltimore, and precipitated the country into a civil war which, for the magnitude of its operations, the extent of its disasters to human life and property, and the vastness of suffering entailed upon the innocent, not only of America, but of other countries, is unequalled in history.

The suffrages were so divided as to leave a constitutional majority to none of the candidates, though 1,857,610 electors united upon Mr. Lincoln; and therefore the question devolved for decision on the electoral college, not to scrutinize the votes, but to elect by their own suffrage.

Of the four candidates for the presidency in 1860, it must be borne in mind that only Mr. Breckenridge represented the revolutionary party, who required the legalizing of slavery in every free state, territory, or wherever the arms of the United States can protect its flag, as the price of remaining in the Union. The will of the people, therefore, as to the question of secession or slavery, is evidenced by the aggregate vote for Mr. Breckenridge as compared with that of his three competitors; that comparison is found in the following figures:—

Total popular vote	4,662,170
Breckenridge	847,953
Lincoln, Douglas, Bell	3,814,217
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Majority against secession . . .	2,966,264

Even in the slave states, the united vote for Douglas and Bell, both Union candidates, and opposed to secession, was 679,498, as against 540,871 for Breckenridge. Making a majority against secession in the slave states of 138,627.

It is presumed none of the Whigs who had survived the dissolution of their party voted for the Republican candidate, as it is presumed they were included in the 590,681 who gave their support to Mr. Bell of Tennessee. The transition which has befallen the Whigs, no longer a party, which numbered nearly 1,400,000 in the year 1852, has left the dissidents from it to be distributed as Southern pro-slavery partisans, as Democrats and nondescripts. Many Democrats have passed to the Republican platform, and more are yielding themselves to the conviction that freedom more than party deserves their support. Such men are Vice-President Hamlin, Hon. C. F. Adams, the Ambassador to England, and in 1848 President of the Buffalo Democratic Convention; N. P. Banks, ex-Governor of Massachusetts, and Major-General in the Federal army; Henry Wilson, Senator from Massachusetts; John P. Hale, Senator from New Hampshire; Charles Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts; Galusha A. Grow, ex-Speaker of the House of Representatives, and for ten years the champion of the Homestead Bill.

The opprobrium of recent times to which the section of anti-slaverymen, distinguished as Abolitionists, have been exposed is a phenomenon of strange import in the intercourse of American philanthropists. Extreme opinions on the terms and provisions of the Constitution do not sufficiently explain it; though, perchance, they were mingled with a cynical acerbity towards others who differed in judgment. It became a sect everywhere spoken against, partly because some of its most zealous champions were also earnest sectaries in religious opinions. The Emancipation party were less calumniated or shunned, because they were

deemed less revolutionary, and might, perhaps, accept improvement in the condition of the slave in "bit-by-bit" reforms.

The earnest and most intense Abolitionists had their stronghold in Massachusetts, and cordial supporters in Pennsylvania and New York. The experience of these zealous and persistent advocates of freedom led them to the conclusion that the Constitution of the Union must be changed to give scope to abolition. They saw three clauses of that document, which seemed not only to acknowledge the existence of slavery, but also required by the oath which was taken, that every one who subscribed it should uphold that Institution in its integrity. The provision introduced to regulate taxation, which reckoned five slaves held by any one as equal to three votes in the election of candidates to Federal offices; the power given to any one holding persons to service to pursue his fugitive servant into other states, to claim his rendition, and permission to continue the slave trade for twenty years from 1787, were adduced in proof that the Constitution could not be worked for the abolition of slavery, while the doctrine of *State sovereignty* was a bar to any interference by Congress or President in the slave laws of slaveholding states. The conviction thus cherished constrained a growing number of Abolitionists to abstain from holding office themselves, or giving their suffrage to others. They therefore proceeded to assail the Federal Constitution—an object so dear to myriads that it had become a popular doctrine that there was "no higher law as a rule for political action than the Constitution of the United States." Argument and controversy ran high—multitudes being ready almost to say of their Union, "He that toucheth thee, toucheth the apple of my eye."

The Abolitionists were charged, even by patriotic and discerning men, as holding "not the simple doctrine of abolition—viz., that slavery ought to be abolished, but a

peculiar and distinctive doctrine of their own, the doctrine of *immediate abolition*; or, in other words, that instead of some process of gradual abolition, which shall guard the slaves, and the masters, and society against the perils incident to so great a change, slavery ought to be abolished instantaneously and without regard to consequences." To this the reply was given, "look at slavery and its barbarism;" look at its cardinal *principle*, the undoubted law in all the slave states, "that the slave is not to be ranked among *sentient* beings, but among *things*—is an article of property, a chattel personal." They singled out the assumptions of United States' senators, sent by the slave states; from Mr. Calhoun, who pronounced "*Slavery the most safe and stable basis for free institutions in the world,*" and Mr. M'Duffie, who accounted it *the corner-stone of the Republican edifice*, to Mr. Hammond, who admired its *forms of society as the best in the world*; Mr. Jefferson Davis had represented it as but *a form of civil government for those who are not fit to govern themselves*; and his colleague, Mr. Brown, vaunted it as *a great moral, social, and political blessing—a blessing to the slave, and a blessing to the master*; Mr. Hunter advanced in his panegyric of what he called *the Social System of the slaveholding states, exalting slavery as the normal condition of human society, beneficial to the non-slaveowner as it is to the slaveowner, but for the happiness of both races*; and glorified that *as the very key-stone of the mighty arch, which, by its concentrated strength, is able to sustain our social superstructure, which consists in the black marble block of African slavery; knock that out, he says, and the mighty fabric, with all that it upholds, topples and tumbles to its fall.* M'Duffie crowned the eulogy by exclaiming, "*Slavery supersedes the necessity of an order of nobility.*" In response to these encomiums the Abolitionists hunted their victims as "the Barbary of the Union" from its African home, through its practical results, in its own States, com-

paring them with other parts of the Union, on the character of the oppressors, whom the system barbarizes, and on the oppressed, whom it consigns to degradation.

The Abolitionists had disfranchised themselves, and were constrained to accept ostracism by their fellow-citizens. They believed principle was at work in their country; men who then thought their doctrine mischievous in its effects on their own minds and hearts, and mischievous in the re-action it produced, branded them as led by infidels and zealous mistaken fanatics under erroneous pleas of philanthropy, and speaking evil of the Word of God, to denounce the Federal Constitution and Union as fraught with guilt sufficient to provoke the judgments of heaven; that therefore these extremists demanded immediate and unqualified emancipation, or, as an alternative, denounced the Constitution, and sought to hasten the dissolution of the Union by whatever might increase its difficulties. The heat of debate and the use of free speech among such belligerents, for a time opened a wide gulf between these friends of the slave, and occasioned misapprehensions among distant observers. But their own divisions and misconceptions have been gradually subsiding, and their tendency to union and influence is daily augmenting. What argument and the Congress and the Constitution had not previously accomplished, the seceding and rebellious slaveholders have effected under the providence of God for the slave's emancipation. There is some lingering antagonism on constitutional questions between the Democratic and Republican politicians, as to the power of the President and his administration: but the members arrayed under the banner of State sovereignty, as paramount to the Republican Federation are gradually and even rapidly diminishing. Englishmen may be excused if they do not quite comprehend how far the *imperium in imperio* can be recognized, and the right to secede be denied to the several states whose chosen

representatives may determine to assert their independence. It is, however, asserted that State sovereignty was surrendered after the experiment from 1777 to 1787; and the convention, chosen to act in the latter year, prepared and submitted the present Constitution, whereby the Federal Congress, Senate, and President, became sovereign, which was accepted by eleven of the states on the 17th of September, 1788, when Congress resolved that it should go into operation on the 4th day of March, 1789. The other states afterwards adhered.

The acts of sovereignty as between America and other nations, declaration of war, treaties of amity, or commercial intercourse for all the states, the raising and supreme command of the army and navy, coining money, and the sovereignty of the territories, were all transferred from the several states, and are vested in the President or his subordinate administration in responsibility to the Federal Congress. Traitors, rebels, and their property, in whatever state, are amenable to presidential control.

But the presidential prerogatives have either been exaggerated or misapprehended in Britain, especially by such as have objected to the policy of Mr. Lincoln during the past two years. He has been charged with doing too much, and failing to do what ought to have been done. Why have he and the Congress failed to abolish slavery, since not only did he avow himself opposed to it before his election, but it has manifestly been the cause of all the recent conflict? Why did he proclaim freedom to the slave in the rebel states, where he had no power, and leave it untouched in the loyal states, where his power was dominant? Why did he tell the Chicago deputation that he must maintain slavery, if to do so would strengthen the Union, and would abolish slavery if not doing so would weaken the Union? Why has he not allowed the slave states to retire and form a separate Republic, but has issued

conscriptions, forcing on an unwilling people warfare and bloodshed, involving the United States in irretrievable debt and ruin? Why does he remove generals in the army from commands where they are popular, and sustain generals and others in authority who fail in their duty? Why does he employ coloured slaves to fight against their masters, and refuse to hear their masters' remonstrances from the lips of Mr. H. A. Stephens when sent with a flag of truce? Why does he not accept terms of peace, though they have not been offered, except as they were spoken of by such peace democrats as Mr. Wood and other tools of faction for divisive purposes?

The President is not a lawgiver; but in times of peace and loyalty is simply an administrator of duties prescribed by the Constitution. He may send messages to Congress; but he has not a vote or seat in that assembly, nor any one to represent him in its deliberations. He can veto measures proposed and carried by the two houses of legislature, and whatever has been carried by majorities is not a law till it has received the President's signature. He has no vote, place, or control in, or over the legislature of the several states, and no power to set aside their legislation, or the action of their governors, as far as they relate to the internal economy of their own state. He can interdict their coinage of money, raising of an army for war, or treaties with other states of the Union, or other governments, but he cannot send a message or propose to the legislature of any one state the enactment of a law, or the abrogation of a statute, or interfere with the internal administration of any institution, or inflict a punishment for any violation of any state ordinance. His private opinions, or the platform of his party, could not become the rule of his presidential action, which is regulated by the Constitution. His propositions, whatever they are, must be enacted by the two houses of legislature before he could carry them out; and

had the senators and members of Congress from the South continued in their place, they might have frustrated every item of his policy, or at least embarrassed its action. His two proclamations respecting the slaves of masters in disloyal states, the one giving warning of the other by a period of two months, were issued in his character of commander-in-chief, an office with which the Constitution invested him, and which he could only discharge towards a foreign enemy, or rebellious citizens; and they enforced only the *confiscation act of Congress* against rebels in arms. The measure was demanded by the pressure of the war and the urgent importunities of many virtuous citizens in private and public.

Had not such a measure been adopted, not alone would the rebellion have been strengthened by disappointment among able-bodied slaves, but the sympathies and convictions of millions of friends of the slave would have been turned from the government of the Union. The commander-in-chief had no right to interfere in the administration of loyal states, or to confiscate their nominal property. The President therefore did not extend to them the action of his proclamation. But in the proper season he addressed a message to their representatives, urging that a measure of emancipation should be considered by them. Mr. Lincoln explained to the Chicago deputation (coming from his own state, not that his private opinions had changed, but that as a faithful man who had taken the oath of President he must employ his prerogatives only in a constitutional manner for maintaining the Union; and that the abolition of slavery must proceed from the proper quarter before it could become an act of his administration. In like manner, his oath and the demand of the people constrains the President to seek to preserve the territories of the Union unbroken and undiminished, as he had received them to keep and not only to punish rebels but protect many a loyal citizen yet remaining in the States, where a conspiracy of

traitors had fomented and forced rebellion. The conscription was enacted by Congress as a law at the urgent call of men, some of whom subsequently sought to employ it to the discredit of Government, and the men who resisted it by violence were doubtless the dupes of knavish and unprincipled demagogues. The debts which have been occasioned by the war, are assumed by a loyal people who prefer that the bonds for it shall be paid by themselves. The conduct of Mr. Lincoln to the generals is not only gracefully accepted by the men themselves most personally concerned, but is so far approved by the whole people as that it may be safely said never was a President so popular in the United States.

The power over the slave and to maintain slavery in the South had never been touched by congressional legislation or presidential authority; nothing was proposed to be done by Mr. Lincoln as successful candidate, or by his supporters. The oppressed and crushed slave remained exposed to the brutality of his tyrant; though such men as Senators Preston and Hammond had declared from their places in Congress, that if an abolitionist should come within the borders of their state, or if chance should throw him in their way, he might expect a felon's death; "notwithstanding all the interference of all the governments on earth, including the Federal Government, we will hang him." Thus it was resolved by the leaders of rebellion that the liberty of speech and of the press would be abolished, and a felon's death would await him who dared to print or utter any denial that slavery is just or moral; and in the declaration of causes for secession by Carolina, the chief one set forth was "the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery;" by this it was asserted, the Federal government will have become their enemy. The prerogative of a free election was therefore denied to the

North ; and further it was declared, that as the North did not act efficiently in catching fugitive slaves and returning them to slavery, the constitutional compact had been deliberately broken, and South Carolina was released from her obligations.

" Thus, then, it stands. The South, stimulated by self-interest, saw that an experiment which never had succeeded in the world before, was about to fail here also ; the experiment of maintaining in perpetuity, side by side, under the same government, two conflicting labour systems. She saw that her 'philosophical truth' must be accepted as the corner-stone, or else altogether rejected by the builders. She saw that the North would *not* accept it. She saw that public opinion at the North would continue to condemn it as sinful and unchristian. She saw that the North would never consent to have freedom of speech and of the press suspended throughout half the republic. She saw that the pride of the North would never submit to the passage of a constitutional amendment, making Anti-Slavery opinions a disqualification for the Presidency. She saw that under any plan of reconstruction short of assimilation of labour systems, fugitive-slave law difficulties would increase, in number and bitterness, year after year.

" Between Slavery and National Unity was her only choice. She selected and emblazoned Slavery ; drew the sword, and severed the political bonds which connected her with the Free States.

" The men of the North say, ' Shall we tempt her again into fellowship by an offer to restore to her her constitutional rights, and a promise to maintain intact her system of slave-labour ? ' Vanquished, exhausted, but with her convictions unchanged, she might agree to such an armistice. Permanent she knows well it could never be ; but she knows also the vast advantage, in her present prostrate condition, of two or three years' breathing time. Shall we offer her an opportunity so excellent to recruit her strength and replenish her resources ?

" The ninth section of an Act of Congress, commonly called the ' Confiscation Act,' approved July 17, 1862, reads thus :—

“‘That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or who shall give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army; and all slaves captured from such persons or deserted by them and coming under the control of the Government of the United States; and *all slaves of such persons found or being within any place occupied by Rebel forces and afterwards occupied by forces of the United States*, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be for ever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.’

“By the decision of the Supreme Court already cited, *all the inhabitants of the insurrectionary states are, in law, persons ‘engaged in rebellion.’* Therefore, all refugee slaves from insurrectionary states are, by this statute, declared free.

“Further: as all the insurrectionary states have been ‘occupied by Rebel forces,’ and as we may reasonably conclude that, if we prevail against the South, all these states not already ‘occupied by forces of the United States’ will hereafter be so occupied, it follows that, by the operation of this law, all the slaves in the insurrectionary states, even if no Emancipation Proclamation had ever been issued, would, before the end of the war, have probably been entitled to freedom.

“Strictly in the spirit of the above statute, and going only so far beyond it as to declare slaves in portions of the insurrectionary states not yet ‘occupied by forces of the United States,’ to be free in advance of such occupation, has been the President’s action in the premises. Let us glance at that action.

“On the 25th of July, 1862, the President, in pursuance of the Act just quoted, issued a Proclamation warning all insurgents to return to their allegiance within sixty days, on pain of certain forfeitures and seizures.

“This warning proving ineffectual, the President, when the sixty days’ notice had expired, issued a second Proclamation, declaring that the slaves held within any state, which on the 1st of January then succeeding should still be in rebellion against the United States, ‘shall be then, thenceforth, and for ever free.’

“On the 1st of January, 1863, ‘by virtue of the power in him vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and

Navy of the United States,' he declared certain states, namely Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia—certain parishes in Louisiana and certain counties in Virginia excepted—to be then in rebellion against the United States: and he further declared that all slaves in the said ten states, with the exceptions aforesaid, 'are, and henceforward shall be, free.'

"Were these proclamations legal? Had the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States the right to issue them?

"Our Supreme Court, in the decision already alluded to, thus endorses a well-known law of war:—'The right of one belligerent not only to coerce the other by direct force, but also to cripple his resources by the seizure or destruction of his property, is a necessary result of a state of war.' Or, as Vattel has it:—'We have a right to deprive our enemy of his possessions, of everything which may augment his strength, and enable him to make war.'

"Humanity bids us respect the private property of non-combatants. It is barbarous to burn or pillage dwellings, to lay waste farms, to destroy public edifices, not military. But if property of an enemy be of a dangerous character, so that its existence imperils the success of the war, or if it be such as has been, or may be used with effect against us to prolong the war, we violate the clearest dictates of prudence if we neglect any opportunity to deprive the enemy of it. Thus of ammunition, of quartermaster's, and commissary stores. Thus, also, of forts, entrenchments, and the like. Let us apply these principles in the present case.

"Certain of our public enemies with the same rights (and no other) as alien enemies have, held on the first day of January last, within the above-named insurrectionary states, claims to the service or labour for life of some three millions of persons.

"This class of claims is, beyond all else, such property as imperils military success, such as 'augments the enemy's strength,' such as 'enables him to make war,' nay, gives him aid on a scale so vast, that without it the war would already, in all reasonable probability, have been brought to a close. It is not, indeed, quartermaster's and

commissary stores, but it is that which supplies both. It is not forts or entrenchments, but it serves to build the one, and throw up the other. We cannot more effectually 'cripple the resources' of the enemy, than by destroying it.

"Nor is this all. The dangerous character of this property is attested by the enemy himself. He acknowledges that Jefferson prophesied truly, when he predicted that this was the rock upon which the old Union would split. The owners of these claims themselves declare them to have been the immediate cause of the war. What chance have we of domestic tranquillity while they exist? There is—in the nature of things there can be—no security for peace or loyalty from a slave state.

"Does international law exempt such claims from seizure? Are they not to be reckoned as part of an enemy's property? Vattel expressly tells us:—'Among the things belonging to the enemy are likewise incorporeal things—all his rights, claims, and debts.'

"Therefore, the Confiscation Act, including its ninth section, already quoted, is in strict accordance with the laws of war.

"Therefore, too, our Commander-in-Chief was in his right when he took and cancelled the claims to service and labour in the insurrectionary states. The law of nations sanctions the Emancipation Proclamation. By that instrument three millions of slaves were legally set free. The deed is done—righteously, lawfully done. It is true that many of these people are working as slaves still; but in the eye of the law, they are freedmen. Our own right to freedom is not better than theirs.

"This deed, demanded alike by prudence and justice, forms an era in our national history. It severed the past from the future. It substantially changed, of necessity, the policy of the government. In the early stage of the war, Congress proposed, and the majority of the nation expected, as the issue of this contest, a mere rehabilitation, with Southern laws and Southern institutions re-acknowledged in their pristine form. Again and again warning was given, and the return of the insurgents to their loyal duty on these conditions was urged upon them. But their hearts were hardened, and they

would not. By their obstinate perversity they closed the door against themselves. They persevered in their conspiracy against public law until Emancipation became an imperative measure of self-defence. Let us not take credit to ourselves for generous philanthropy. The South, reckless and blind, was the unwitting agent of human liberty. And thus, in the providence of God, the very effort, by armed treason, to perpetuate an abuse has been the means of effecting its eradication.

"That which might have been can no longer be. When politicians talk now of reconstruction, with the 'peculiar institution' of the South left intact, the words are nothing else but a mischievous mystification. If the South conquer, she may, by superior force, hold as slaves the negroes who shall remain to her, though by our laws they are free. But for us there is no longer a peculiar institution in any of the insurrectionary states to be left intact. We can build up anew that peculiar institution; not legally, it is very true, for neither the President, nor Congress, nor any judicial tribunal in the land, has any more authority to consign a freeman to slavery than they have to hang him without crime or trial; but we may build it up, if we have power enough, or connive at it if we are shameless enough; just as a highwayman may seize a purse, or a burglar carry off a basket of silver-ware."

CHAPTER II.

THE POPULATION WHO HAVE AN INTEREST AND VOICE IN THE QUESTION.

THE Census Tables in "The National Almanac and Annual Record" of the United States for 1863, supplies an analysis of the nationality and occupation of immigrants arriving in that country from 1820 to 1860. Among the *curiosities* are the facts that the class containing 872,317, the greatest number, is designated "labourers;" while the class of "farmers" numbers 764,837. "Mechanics" are reckoned 407,524, besides shoemakers, tailors, weavers, spinners, engineers, printers, painters, masons, hatters, millers, and butchers, altogether 26,175. There are 29,484 mariners; 39,967 miners; 5246 seamstresses and milliners; actors are 588; clerks, 3882; lawyers and physicians, 9875; manufacturers, 3120; teachers, 1528; artists, 2490; musicians, 729, and clergymen, 4326. It might be an interesting question which collegiate institutions supplied the greatest proportion of these emigrant clergymen. Bakers are computed, 1272; servants, 49,494; other occupations, 26,206; and 2,978,599, have no specific occupation.

During the period from 1820 till 1860 the total number of aliens who entered the United States was 5,062,414; while others of American descent, returned to their birth-place, were 397,007. Great Britain, including England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, and British America, contributed as their quota 2,866,016 of this vast mass. Germany and Prussia sent 1,546,476; France, 208,068; China, 41,443,

and the West Indies, 40,487; Norway and Sweden, 36,129; Spain, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Portugal, altogether contributed 55,853. But Poland has sent only 1659, and Russia, 1374; while Switzerland swelled her numbers to 37,783, and Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, etc., added 13,920. South and Central America gave 24,935; besides other fractional items; 180,854 are reported as having arrived without stating from what country they had departed; many of them, no doubt, were wives and children. One of the ingenious defenders of the South assumes, with more plausibility than truth, that these races commingled give as their product "two peoples, originating from ancestors so different and with such differences of opinions, habits, institutions, laws, and feelings, and occupying for CENTURIES (!) regions so distinct they could hardly be expected to live together peaceably for ever." Surely the premise does not warrant so curt a conclusion.

An American commentator, in the most dispassionate manner, criticises the alleged phenomena and their physical antagonism :—

"Nothing can be more absurd than the drawing of this imaginary line of races between the Northern and Southern states; it is very true, indeed, that Virginia was first settled by the younger sons of English gentlemen, persons who, cut off by the laws of primogeniture from inheriting their paternal estates, sought to found others for themselves in the New World, and, regarding manual labour as disgraceful to gentle blood, gladly welcomed the Dutch captain who, in August, 1620, introduced the first cargo of Africans, in whom the colonists thought they discerned a better substitute for the English peasantry than the comparatively few and discontented whites they had been able to "spirit" away from the mother country. It is equally true that Massachusetts was first settled by the Puritans, men in whose souls the spirit of Hampden and Cromwell was reflected,—men of a stern theology, who had small love for kings and aristocrats, and who regarded all toil as honourable,—men who had none of the advantages of the settlers

of South Carolina, who enjoyed the partnership and patronage of Shaftesbury, Monk, Clarendon, Ashley Cooper, and other favourite courtiers whose rapacity obtained from the debauched Charles II. the grant of all lands lying between twenty-nine degrees and thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. But to contend that the two Anglican classes—for they can scarcely be described as races—which thus first settled the English possessions in America have ever since maintained their distinction, and now divide the country between North and South, is simple folly. Ten other and mainly distinct peoples have been mingling their blood and ideas with the two antagonistic English stocks. The waves of Dutch, German, Irish, Scotch, French, and Slavonic races have flowed over the South as well as over the North. Before the close of the seventeenth century the French Huguenots had settled in both sections of the country. Massachusetts owes to a Huguenot the far-famed Faneuil Hall, in Boston, fondly termed 'the cradle of liberty;' while in South Carolina, in the revolution, it was a Huguenot, Judith Manigault, who gave his entire fortune for the service of the country which had given his mother a shelter from the religious fury of Louis XIV. America presents the spectacle, not 'of two peoples' 'occupying for centuries' distinct regions, but of twelve or fifteen peoples who, constantly intermingling for less than two centuries, have formed a peculiar race, observing no geographical boundaries, and divided in opinion now only upon one question, *i.e.*, the dignity or the disgracefulness of labour."

The connection between English Puritans and Nonconformists, the earliest settlers in the Massachusetts Bay, and the present population, not alone of New England, but of a large portion of the Western states, deserves more than a passing allusion. As old England inspired her children, who peopled Connecticut, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island and Massachusetts, with their endurance and love of liberty, so has her descendant animated the vigorous and enterprising colonists in Western lands. It may be true that Illinois and Indiana received their *early settlers* from among the poor whites of Kentucky; and that, having

a full knowledge of the slave-master's inclination to rid himself of the burden of supporting aged negroes, they expected an emigration of coloured paupers along the frontier of their states; and therefore enacted in their state constitution, as slavery was excluded from their territories by the Missouri compromise, that no person of colour, though free, should be admitted to citizenship within their limits. But during the last fifteen years a very different class of settlers have resorted to their prairies and forest-lands, and have rendered the exclusive law almost an obsolete statute, and the 110,000 of inhabitants in Chicago can too well appreciate the value of free labour to exclude any man able and willing to work. In Kansas, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa the men of New England lineage and sympathies abound, as in Milwaukee, Dubuque, and every other rising town. 'The Border Ruffians' of Missouri found many men, like Captain John Brown, ready to contest the introduction of slavery into that debateable land; while Detroit, which has increased during ten years by more than 117 per cent.—giving about 50,000 where only 21,000 were previously—witnesses the enterprise of Old Englanders and New Englanders, too, in her pathway upon the mighty lakes, gathering their waters from other regions and lakes which border her own state, Michigan. A striking fact is deduced from the census of the decade ending 1850; 609,371 were found in the Free states, who had been born in the Slave states, and 206,638 born in the Free states were found in the Slave states; and, since the white population of the Free states is double that of the Slave states, it is concluded that the proportion of whites moving from slavery is six times greater than that of whites moving into slavery.

In this simple fact is disclosed something of the aversion to the domestic institution which is aroused even in the Slave states. But another humiliating feature occurs in what has been affirmed, that the New England men, who

migrate into Slave states, become the greatest oppressors of the slave, and are the bitterest opponents to the abolition of slavery, or to the claims of the Federal union.

The older states, however, retain their original and distinctive characteristics, while manifesting adventitious peculiarities, derived from fresh immigrations. Dutch names and associations linger in New York, amidst the cosmopolitan lineaments which are derived from her universal commerce and facilities for navigation. Gentile and Jew, Protestant and Catholic, Presbyterian in multiplied phases, Irish, English, Scotch, French, Dutch, German, Negro and Caucasian, Greek and Chinese, Asiatic and South American people her crowded streets, and mingle in the turmoil of her commerce, or in her scenes of amusement and religion. New Jersey is more like a rural province of the states attached to New York than like a separate state. She was settled in 1627, and contains 672,085 of a population; while the population of New York numbers 3,851,563, and was settled in 1609. Delaware was settled in Charles I.'s time, by a grant to Lord Delaware, 1627, and contains only 112,216, of whom 19,829 are coloured and free. There are also 1798 slaves, three-fifths of them residing in one county. It is believed, however, they are rapidly making themselves scarce. In area and population this state ranks thirty-second of the whole, and does not increase the improvement of her lands in proportion to the neighbouring states. Maryland received her name before she was recognized as a governing body. Among her 687,000 of a population are 80,000 free coloured persons and 87,190 slaves; but the latter are escaping without the pursuit of a fugitive slave law, in thousands apparently, to the relief of their former owners. Baltimore is the crown of Maryland's fame and influence, and its commerce has rapidly increased in recent times; while her population has risen, in ten years, from 169,054 to 212,418.

Secession proclivities have, however, marred her reputation. Her neighbour state, Pennsylvania, settled under the auspices of William Penn, as a friend of the Stuarts, in 1682, contains a population of 2,906,115. She has the same area as New York, 46,000 square miles. Philadelphia contains 562,529, an increase, during ten years, of 222,484; while Pittsburg and its suburbs contain 100,000, all rejoicing in their power to labour, and in the reward of their work.

Philadelphia strikes a stranger as possessing the capacity for increase and the well-being of its inhabitants equal to what any other city in the Union enjoys, and the *élite* of the residents there manifest the manners of a people who live in their birth-place and among their kindred. They are Americans, and occupy themselves in matters which claim their sympathies, yet are they observant of the rites of hospitality. The educational statistics of the city are reported as, 847 schools: denominated as, high schools 2, grammar schools 57, *unclassified* schools 48, secondary 59, and primary 181. Institutions for deaf and dumb, for the blind, for idiotic and feeble-minded children, and insane hospitals, all evince a philanthropic provision for the inhabitants of the city. They have also a supply of correctional institutions for all criminal classes, white and coloured. Their prisons are conducted on benevolent principles, and are intended to reclaim even more than to punish. There was in the census reported of the state, an excess of white males in the whole population of 6626, while there was an excess of coloured females of 4103; probably the war has altered the proportions in the sexes.

Massachusetts was the home of the Pilgrim Fathers, and though her area hardly reaches a sixth part of New York or Pennsylvania, her population is 1,231,066, approaching to nearly the half of Pennsylvania, and more than a third of New York. Her first settlement was in 1620. The population is not so nearly balanced in the sexes as was

Pennsylvania, the females exceeding the males by 37,640. The coloured population numbers 9602. The state ranks first in density and in absolute increase of the inhabitants in the square mile of all American states, and takes rank after New York and Pennsylvania in manufacturing production. The number of newspapers and periodicals published in the state was 232, and their aggregate circulation was 102,000,760 copies. Its criminal and educational statistics exceed in detail and abundance every other state in the Union. The joint-stock companies, fire and life assurance, railroad companies, represent an amount of capital which can hardly be credited, and is, perhaps, unequalled not only in the Union, but in any equal extent of population anywhere. Taking along with Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, we have the homes and the race of New England. The area of these four latter states extends to 24,235 square miles, together with Massachusetts, embracing 32,000 square miles; their gross population amounts to 1,275,956, to which, if we add the inhabitants of Massachusetts, the number will be 2,507,022. The excess of female population in these four states was 17,645, which, added to the excess in Massachusetts, would make 55,285 more women than men in these five states prior to the war. Probably this feature of New England statistics arises from the adventurous colonizing spirit of the people, which leads to the fact that New England men are found in every state of the Union. There is less proportionate accession to the native born inhabitants in these states from emigration than in other parts of America, and the coloured population, though generally in better condition of life, seems to be not so numerous as in states more toward the South. There are more towns in these states, and the population is more disposed to draw together, than in the Western states. The residences of the people are all superior to the towns of

the old country, and the streets and suburbs are more tastefully laid out and have more of the appearance of independence and comfort than do the country towns of England. Hartford, New Haven, Cambridge, Worcester, Salem, Springfield, Norwich, Laurence, and Lowell, with many other thriving and increasingly populous towns, appear the homes of a wealthy and almost aristocratic yeomanry; while Boston sits as queen in the midst of all, with her suburbs containing probably 250,000 inhabitants, and presenting streets, and squares, and drives, and contrasts of town and country, of water and land, interspersed with public buildings, monuments, and philanthropic institutions; she has more the air of a new edition of a quaint old prosperous city than any other place in America. Her citizens impress the stranger with the idea that they are all homogeneous, that they have been born there, and have known and assimilated with each other from boyhood, and retain a living interest in each other's welfare and prosperity. Female society exercises a most benignant influence in all her associations, and give heart and attractions to the homes of husbands, sons, and brothers.

The state of Maine skirts the seaboard as far east as the boundary of British possessions in New Brunswick, was originally a portion of Massachusetts, but now, as a separate state, extends over 31,766 square miles, and contains 628,276 inhabitants, a people brave and loyal. They are truly by descent and association entitled to be classed as the sons of New England, and the kindred of the Puritan fathers. Many of the present families have joined the original emigrants, and have contributed to refresh and strengthen the tide of English feelings.

The genial sympathy between Old and New Englanders, notwithstanding revolutionary feuds and a brief war fever in 1812 and 1813, runs deep, and evinces its strength even in complaints of seeming alienation in the present struggle.

The emotion which approaches irritation, and breaks out in language of displeasure, is the consequence of disappointment and sorrow. The people are *vered* to think that those whom they had regarded as their own kindred, and loved as an elder though absent brother, should misapprehend or suspect their conduct toward the slave and the suffering. They had expected that England would remember how Massachusetts had borne reproach and calumny for the sake of the oppressed negro. Connecticut contains 8627 free coloured inhabitants, and Vermont and Massachusetts have not had a slave in all their territories since the year 1800, though the people of these states have helped many thousands who were slaves to the land of freedom by their underground railway.

Their English ancestry were men who loved their country, though they sought to love and serve their God with a more fervent zeal. In their temporary exile, to which persecuting prelates and benighted rulers had driven them, when they sought a European home, they witnessed with regret the amalgamation of their offspring with the blood of other nations, and the lisping speech of their children in foreign languages. *They* thought in and responded to the utterances of their mother tongue. Their English accent had for them a thrill of tenderness, and a power of expression belonging to no other dialect. They had a sacred preference for the English Sabbath and its solemnities, the hours and assemblies of English worship, and the fellowship of English hearts in the house of God; and, therefore, since they could not return to England to renew these sacred pleasures they separated themselves for a farther exile, and sought to find a land which should be their own, and a community with whom they could worship under their own vine and under their own fig-tree. They embarked for Plymouth Rock that they might plant a New England, and carried their own language, and its litera-

ture, and its stores of hallowed devotion, its treasures of theology, and its priceless gem the English Bible.

The noble principles which sustained their Puritan ancestry, separated themselves as a peculiar people. These stalwart sons of liberty were moral giants, fitted to mould the destinies of the world; they took precedence of their times, and antedated the history of freedom by centuries. They broadcast among other nations the seeds of liberty, civil and religious, and hedged round the plantations of an exotic race, by the principles of mutual right, popular suffrage, administrative responsibility, and the sovereignty of the people, as claiming for religion superiority to civil control, and bringing it within the prescriptive rights of Him alone who is King of kings, and whose right it is thus to reign. The wild woods of America heard and welcomed the heralds of such principles; and opening their bosoms to the exiles who sought their shores for refuge, gave them a home and ultimately a dominion which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and travels in the greatness of its strength from the shores of Newfoundland to the utmost bounds of California.*

* "It is a mistake to say 'they were not men of letters;' that they could not defend themselves, or that they ever evinced any 'contempt for human learning.' We cannot admit the reproach against an Owen, a Howe, a Baxter, a Milton, or a Marvell. They might, indeed, have failed to cultivate the lofty and pompous eloquence which distinguished the hollow hypocrisy of Charles the First, and they might loathe and deprecate the easy good breeding in which the harlot court of Charles the Second paraded its vices. But their treasure was not concealed in a leaden chest — as witness Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson's 'Memoirs,' Andrew Marvell's 'Rehearsal Transposed,' and Milton's prose writings, or his 'Paradise Lost.' The men who roused England to resistance, who directed their measures through a long series of eventful years, who formed, out

The theology, books of devotion, psalmody, and experimental religion, the sacred literature, which flowed from Puritanic sources and in Nonconformist channels, were an heir-loom and a valued inheritance to these children of

of the most unpromising materials, the most martial army Europe had ever seen; who trampled down church, king, and aristocracy, because they resisted or waged a war of extermination; who, in the short intervals of domestic sedition and rebellion, formed and plotted by the monarchies of Europe, made the name of England terrible to every nation on the face of the earth, were no vulgar fanatics. To civil and military affairs they brought a coolness of judgment and an immutability of purpose which were the effects rather than the pretensions of religious zeal. The intensity of this feeling made them tranquil on every other matter. This one overpowering sentiment subjected to itself pity and revenge, ambition and fear. Religion was all; for it, death had lost its terrors and pleasure its charms. Their smiles, their tears, their raptures, and their sorrows were not in relation to the things of this world. Their minds, cleared from every vulgar passion and prejudice, had been raised by their generous enthusiasm above the influence of danger and corruption.

"The compound character of the Puritan has been exaggerated, though with a colour of truth, when, by an eloquent antithesis, it is said, he dared to set his foot on the scaffold of his king, yet prostrated himself before his Maker in the dust. Amid his self-abasement, his penitence, and grateful fervour, he sustained a lofty bearing—calm, inflexible, and sagacious. In his devotional retirement his prayers were mingled with groans and tears; in his meditations, if he heard not, yet had he communion with the songs of seraphs and the lyres of angels; and by the eye of faith he caught a vision of the land which was very far off, and beheld the eternal King in his beauty. It was no reproach to Fleetwood that he should cry in the bitterness of his soul because he thought, for a season, that God had hid his face from him. But it is a distortion to represent the generous Vane as thinking himself entrusted with the sceptre of the millennial year.

England. The reproductions from the pens of the Stoddarts, Mathers, Edwards, Hopkins, and Bellamys, proved the richness of the original seed and the carefulness of the culture, and served to endear the exiled race to their

"If ever a dominant party arose among men who, uninspired, might be presumed qualified, these were the men to consolidate religious empire, to determine a national religion, and establish a church with creed and formularies for the people. It is not wonderful that among them were millenarians contending for the recognition of a fifth monarchy, for the secular establishment of the kingdom of Messiah, or for banding together all the nations in solemn league and covenant as the sworn subjects of the Lord Jesus Christ. They had been nursed in the thoughts of doing battle for their religion, for their altars, and 'their hearths set free;' they had gone forth to war carrying their Bible in one hand and their broadsword in the other. Their camp was a sanctuary, their battalions companies of the saints, and their officers thought it no disparagement to be the pastors of their troop, the spiritual advisers and comforters of their armed subordinates, whom they accounted their brethren in the Lord, and admitted as fellow-heirs to the communion of believers. Their watchword was, 'For God and his church;' their war shout, 'The sword of the Lord and of Gideon;' and their song of victory, *Non nobis, Domine*. When the spoil was divided it was consecrated to the service of religion, and the power acquired was deemed a sacred trust deposited, for which the possessor was responsible to the King of kings. Fairfax and Manchester fought and prayed for Presbytery and the Covenant; Lockhart and Whitelock, ambassadors, carried with them into other lands the *insignia* of the conventicle and the *formulas* of Puritan worship; Blake ploughed the main, carrying the flag of England in triumph over every sea, as the admiral of Cromwell, and the guardian of England; Sir Matthew Hale searched for precedents, took the engagements, and presided at the Common Pleas for the administration of justice; the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and the Governor of Dublin, severally communed as private members of an Independent and Baptist church, while

fatherland; while Owen, Baxter, Watts, Doddridge, Erskine, Gillies, Whitfield, and Wesley maintained the intercourse. Religion consecrated the filial and parental bonds, but philosophy, history, science, law, and works of genius flowed in refreshing streams between the nascent states and the old country. And still the language is one, and serves to extend the influence of the Anglo-Saxon race, wherever its accents are understood. The spirit of British law has been infused, so far as it is good, into American jurisprudence, and the administration of it in both countries still bespeaks its lineage. The separation of the junior race into an Independent Republic has only stimulated both branches of the family to aspire to greater things. The younger government may have vaunted itself a little, but the older regimen has learned to relax its disposition to exact and overbear among its own subjects. The commerce which has grown between the two lands has served to increase the personal intercourse of the two families, and a mutual dependence for produce and supply tends to enrich the merchants on both sides of the Atlantic and make all feel their brotherhood and obligation.

England and America united, can contribute essentially to each other's welfare, and make each other an influence among all the nations of the earth. Speaking one language they render it a paramount vehicle of thought, not alone in their own territories or colonies, but also among all civilized peoples. Their evangelical missions, in co-operation or harmony, may extend a common Protestantism, and diffuse scriptural truth in every land to which their heralds are sent. The sister churches of both lands demonstrate the

a Baxter and a Peters, an Owen and a Howe, performed the duties of chaplains to the forces, preachers to the Houses of Parliament, and were numbered among the virtuous and the wise with whom Cromwell surrounded himself."—*Liberty of Conscience*. By Dr. MASSIE.

general unity of the faith; and the Catholic communion of Christians of various name, illustrates the cardinal unity and power of the truth. American missions in Greece, Turkey, Armenia, Persia, Burmah, China, India, and Polynesia; and Bible and tract societies sustained by American Christians, serve the same Lord with like organizations from Britain, and hasten the glorious advent of his kingdom. All this is appreciated and understood by the men of New England; and they would honestly deplore any circumstance which would threaten a severance of the ties of consanguinity and the fellowship of Christian peoples.

The Irish emigration is animated and moved by other influences and considerations; though there be many who have gone from Ireland in her earlier troubles, who have become true and loyal Americans, and would sustain a friendly intercourse with Britain for the good of all. They emigrated before O'Connell's time and found a home and field for profitable enterprise, in which they have established for their descendants wealth and associations, as well as religious fellowship, which identify them with the most respectable circles of society. There are others and later emigrants from the Green Isle who, though educated and qualified to move in literary circles, or in sacerdotal offices, can influence, through the press and among the humbler classes of their countrymen, the popular mind. They have a grudge against the nation which, as they believe, robbed their church, oppressed their people, persecuted their clergy, and enforced for them a servile and subordinate Union with England. They hate the Church and the Government as by law established in their old country; yet these are not the masses of Hibernio-Americans. From the year 1846, when the potatoe famine first threatened, there has been a tide of emigration, which increasingly flowed from Ireland till 1858; and has continued, though with abated force, yet in a powerful current, till the year 1863. For ten years, more

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than 300,000 every year left Ireland, and for seven years since more than 200,000 have followed yearly in their wake. Many paused in their route on the shores of England, but they did not count that their home.

The authorities at the Census Office in America may be able to approximate to the actual number of Irish residents, or the resident descendants of Irish people in the United States; but it is hazardous for a casual observer to conjecture how many they are. It is not alone on the piers or wharfs of New York, or Boston, or Baltimore, or wherever labour is required in every transatlantic city, that they may be found. The Roman Catholic Church of the United States reckons 3,000,000, one million more than she computed twelve years ago; and her communion is chiefly nourished by the Irish immigration. They are found in Ohio, on the Mississippi, in Baltimore, and Boston, in the lumber regions and in the quarries, driving cars and bearing burdens everywhere. They habitually dread the freedom of the negro, lest he should become a competitor in the labour market. There cannot be less than 5,000,000 of Irish, or the descendants of Irish, resident in the United States, though the former do not fill the ranks of its army. The females are servants in families of all classes; and in hotels and boarding-houses, from Eastport in Maine to St. Louis on the Mississippi, they are the chamber-maids, nurses, charwomen, and menials. And they are not a subordinate power in these circles, since they often dictate terms, especially in their attendance upon priestly operations, or their absence from family worship. Their only competitors in families appear to be young German women. The Irish vote has an influence in many of the elections, especially in such municipalities as New York.

The old Spaniard of Florida, the Frenchmen of Louisiana and in the higher Mississippi, the mixture of all classes in California, and the Mormonites in Utah, a territory, the

German and Irish in Ohio, the British and Canadian in Michigan, the hereditary Kentuckian and Virginian, with their pretensions as the aristocratic slaveholders of former times, but now scattered in Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri, mingled as they all are by modern immigration from Britain, Germany, and New England, present the elements of society in the Western states, which it devolves on the educational system of America and the Home Mission apparatus of all evangelical churches in that land, to mould and elevate, and direct as loyal citizens.

There remain, besides all these, the slaves still in bondage, the coloured people who are free, and the recently freedmen. Fully to present the interests here involved, a few words are required as to the states still in loyal union with the north—Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri. The number of slaves reported in them at last census were 429,401. In the last-named state, a law was adopted at a convention, whose legality is disputed, fixing the emancipation of the slaves at several periods, beginning from 1876. A large number of the citizens in the state demand that an act of immediate emancipation shall be passed by the legislature. In the mean time, the 114,931 of slaves have been greatly reduced by a process which the fugitive slave law has not been able to check. The same tendency is manifest in Maryland, and the owners of such *property*, find its tenure uncertain and insecure. It would be hazardous to pursue the fugitives, and they are silent. Delaware held only 1798 slaves, the remnant of a decaying and hateful system. Kentucky talks little about her 225,483 slaves, and probably experiences influences from without holding her in constraint as to the treatment of her bondmen. There were, in 1860, free people of colour in these four states numbering 118,027. Their increase is a contemplation of the future. There are states, or portions of states, which have been practically reclaimed to the Union, where

free people of colour reside, Tennessee, Western Virginia, Louisiana, Florida, and parts of Georgia. In the first four, with all abatements demanded of the census of 1860, we may reckon 56,879. The bondmen in Tennessee, Louisiana, and Florida were 669,190, and we may add 150,000 for Western Virginia, making a total of 819,190. The free people of colour in these two classes of states numbered 174,906, and the same class in the free states of the Union were reported 237,618, giving as objects of administrative care, 412,524, many of them retaining an affectionate solicitude for kindred and relatives still in bonds. The recently freedmen who have during the war or in virtue of the president's proclamation largely added to the number of free people of colour, perhaps 600,000 more, increase the multitude for whose right and liberties the North is bound to care.

The states still associated in rebellion, besides the nominal representations of Florida, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Virginia West, are Eastern Virginia, Texas, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Arkansas, by whom 2,501,920 human beings are held as chattels, and numbered as the herds of their flock. Arkansas is now, however, reclaimed. Besides these, 75,372, who were free people of colour, are held subject now to the caprice and martial law of Confederate rebels; who affirm that the normal condition of all people of colour is that of slavery, and that they have no rights which a white man is bound to respect. These states cover an area of 512,422 miles. From the breaking out of the insurrection, till August, 1863, the United States Government resumed its sway over and through a region of 302,000 square miles, which had been claimed by the South as secession territory. But since that month Generals Rosecranz and Grant have delivered all Tennessee, and entered the higher parts of Georgia. General Banks has led an army into Texas, cutting off French sympathizers from Southern co-operation, which is

consolidating again the power of the Union in that vast state. The extent of territory in Tennessee and Texas alone is 282,921 square miles added to the territory previously reclaimed. The coasts and sounds of North Carolina, half of Mississippi, part of Alabama, the whole sea coast of Georgia, and South Carolina, and a large portion of the coast of Florida, are also held by the ships and army of the Federal Government. It has been said of South territory that "in happiness of climate, adapted to productions of special value, in exhaustless motive power distributed throughout its space, in natural highways by more than fifty navigable rivers never closed by the rigours of winter, and in a stretch of coast along ocean and gulf, indented by hospitable harbours, the whole presenting incomparable advantages for that true civilization where agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, both domestic and foreign, blend—in all these respects, the Slave states excel the Free states, whose climate is often churlish, whose motive powers are less various, whose navigable rivers are fewer, and often sealed by ice, and whose coast, while less in extent and with fewer harbours, is often perilous from storm and cold." Mr. Charles Sumner, from whom this extract is taken, after completing a comparison between the slave and free states, by the testimony of witnesses which he designates as "unerring and passionless *figures*," concludes a summary in the following sentence:—

"Thus, at every point, is the character of slavery more and more manifest, rising and dilating into an overshadowing barbarism, darkening the whole land. Through its influence, population, values of all kinds, manufactures, commerce, railroads, canals, charities, the post-office, colleges, professional schools, academies, public schools, newspapers, periodicals, books, authorship, inventions, are all stunted, and, under a government which professes to be founded on the intelligence of the people, one in twelve of the white adults in the region of slavery is officially reported as unable

to read and write. Never was the saying of Montesquieu more triumphantly verified, that countries are not cultivated by reason of their fertility, but by reason of their liberty. To this truth, the slave states constantly testify by every voice. Liberty is the powerful agent which drives the plough, the spindle, and the keel ; which opens avenues of all kinds, which inspires charity, which awakens a love of knowledge, and supplies the means of gratifying it. Liberty is the first of schoolmasters."

The white population reported in the census for 1860 resident in the Confederate states, omitting Tennessee, Florida, Louisiana, and Western Virginia, are represented as 4,065,052. There may be among them some who were citizens of the excepted states, and there may be volunteers from other lands who are usually called mercenaries ; but the casualties of war have diminished the total number probably by 200,000, while the 2,500,000 slaves in their plantations must give occupation to their guardians and taskmasters. They are called to contend in martial array against more than 22,000,000 of a Northern population, which is every day gaining accessions from other lands. The cause for which they contend is the perpetuation and extension of slavery, and it may serve a good purpose to listen to the testimony of some who well know, as they saw and experienced the system before the rebellion commenced. One who has only skimmed the border of the region, or passed through the luxurious dwellings of those who wallowed in the indulgences contributed by the field-slave, need not pretend to describe what slavery is. "The denial of all rights in the slave can be sustained only by a disregard of other rights common to the whole community, whether of the person, of the press, or of speech. Where this exists there can be but one supreme law, to which all other laws, legislative or social, are subordinate, and this is the pretended law of slavery. All these things must be manifest in slave-masters ; and yet, unconscious of their

true condition, they make boasts which reveal still further the unhappy influence. Barbarous standards of conduct are unblushingly avowed; the swagger of a bully is called chivalry, a swiftness to quarrel is called courage, the bludgeon is adopted as the substitute for argument, and assassination is lifted to be one of the fine arts. Long ago it was fixed certain that the day which made man a slave 'took half his worth away'—words from the ancient harp of Homer, resounding through long generations. Yet nothing here is said of the human being at the other end of the chain. To aver that on this same day all *his* worth is taken away might seem inconsistent with exceptions which we gladly recognize; but, alas! it is too clear, both from reason and from evidence, that, bad as slavery is for the slave, it is worse for the master." Such is the testimony of Mr. C. Sumner, whom the "bludgeon" of a planter felled to the ground, and rendered an unconscious victim, because he dared to utter such sentiments on the floor of the Congress Hall. Colonel Mason, a slave-master from Virginia, gave his evidence in debate on the adoption of the national constitution, when he asserted, "Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labour when performed by slaves; they prevent the emigration of whites, who really enrich and strengthen a country. They produce the most pernicious effect on manners; every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant; they bring the judgment of Heaven upon a country." Mr. Jefferson spoke out in terms which have strong significance what he *felt*. "There must be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people, produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his

manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances ; and with what execration should the statesman be loaded who, permitting one half of the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the others, transforms those into despots and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part and the *amor patriæ* of the other. With the morals of the people their industry also is destroyed." Opinions, however, may require to some the corroboration of facts, and the "Georgia Messenger" presented one which spoke volumes ; though it be but one of thousands. "Run away—my man Fountain ; has holes in his ears, a scar on the right side of his forehead, has been shot in the hind part of his legs, is marked on his back with the whip. Apply to Robert Beasley." Another advertisement, and how full of insinuated licentiousness to the infamous libertine ! "For sale—An accomplished and handsome lady's maid. She is just sixteen years of age ; was raised in a genteel family in Maryland, and is now proposed to be sold, not for any fault, but simply because the owner has no further use for her. A note directed to C. D., Gadsby's Hotel, will receive prompt attention." The sated voluptuary wishes to sell his victim !

In further illustration, a slave master's recipe to cure run-away slaves will suffice to satisfy—to horrify the mind of the reader :

"I can tell you how you can break a nigger of running away. There was an old fellow I used to know in Georgia that always cured his so. If a nigger ran away, when he caught him he would bind his knee over a log and fasten him so that he could not stir ; then he would take a pair of pincers and pull one of his toe-nails out by the roots, and tell him that if he ever run away again he would pull out two of them, and if he run away again after that he told him he would pull out four of them, and so on, doubling each time. He never had to do it more than twice ; it always cured them."

The intermediate agents of slavery, or its master, are

the overseer, the trader, and hunter. The first, with his bloody lash, himself belonging to the class, which is "last and lowest, most abject, degraded, unprincipled." The second, who knows no distinction between a "brood mare" and female slave, and who, to produce his crop of human flesh, promptly converts the plantation into a *grand menagerie*, where men are reared for the market as oxen are for the shambles; while the slave-hunter is not ashamed to advertise his brutal *bloodhound*.

"I have two of the finest dogs for catching negroes in the south-west. They can take the trail twelve hours after the negro has passed, and catch him with ease. I live four miles south-west of Bolivar, on the road leading from Bolivar to Whitesville. I am ready at all times to catch run-away negroes.—DAVID TURNER."

Thus, since slavery became a political passion and slave-masters began to throw aside all disguise, the bloodhound has become the representative of their barbarism in one of its worst forms, while in pursuit of a fellow-man asserting his inborn title to himself.

A single sentence will serve to introduce another aspect of the influence which the system asserts. Through the bludgeon, the revolver, and the bowie-knife the slave-master governs his plantation, and secretly armed with these, he enters the world: they are his congenial companions; to wear them is his pride; to use them becomes a passion, almost a necessity; they regulate his sense of dependence and morals. A duel is not dishonourable; a contest known as a "street fight" is not shameful to slave-masters, and modern imitators of Cain have a mark set upon them, not for condemnation, but for compliment and approval. Violence is so much the practice, if not the rule, that even the governors of slave-states have found it expedient to denounce the consequences. "We long to see the day," said the Governor of Kentucky in 1837, "when

may detect, of short-coming in the anti-slavery action of the North ; but it is a poor demonstration of anti-slavery zeal in men professing friendship for the slave, to expend their wit and influence in captious suspicions and ungenerous insinuations, that North Americans have not always or spontaneously sought the abolition of slavery. Rather would the honest philanthropist and Christian emancipationist be forward to help on the faltering or repentant coadjutor in the cause of freedom, and to remove difficulties out of his way. The English anti-slavery champions in 1832, and the anti-corn law league in 1846, accepted the co-operation of former antagonists, and strengthened the hands of Sir Robert Peel and his small band of converts to the principles of Free Trade. So will the honest friend of the American negro hail the co-operation, and gratefully acknowledge the late but avowed convictions of hundreds of thousands of citizens in America, who now rally round the banner of immediate and unconditional emancipation.

The religious element pervading the American mind cannot be overlooked in the present crisis of the country. Some of the largest denominations were agitated by the question of slavery years before the issues now contemplated came up before the most thoughtful. The Methodist Episcopal Church was divided south and north, and that division was attended with accusations of spoliation and the threatening of protracted litigation. The Presbyterian Church was rent in twain, and the old and new school appreciated with much discordant controversy and diversity the claims of the slave. The commotion gave to Congregationalists in the newer states an extended influence, and modified the interchange of ministerial services. Among Baptist churches the subject was keenly agitated, and part held with the slave, and part held with his oppressor. The reformed and united Presbyterians generally preserved their communion unpolluted by the contagion.

Episcopalian clergy and bishops were variously influenced and divided. This subject will come up again more at length. An opinion has been expressed that the revival which visited Protestant religionists of all denominations during 1858 prepared many devout minds for a more tender consideration of the claims of the slave, and a more steadfast determination to make sacrifices in the path of recognized duty. Even in the Fulton-street prayer meeting, in New York, a prayerful and earnest feeling was cherished and expressed on the subject. It is affirmed by well-informed episcopal Methodists, that a greater number of members of their body than of any other are enrolled in the United States army. It is well known that ministers of the old school Presbyterians have recently identified themselves with anti-slavery agitation, and opened their churches for public assemblies when the subject would be discussed. Religious communities, though no longer ranking as state churches, exercise great influence among the people from their wealth as corporate bodies. So is it with the Dutch Protestant Reformed Church, with some episcopalian incorporations, and such bodies as the Roman Catholic Jesuits and the Trappists. In their measure they can all affect local, and even more general movements, to which representative candidates cannot be indifferent.

It is an article in the creed of some Northern politicians that the Southern confederacy owes much of its powers and consolidation to the clergy and ladies of the South, because they so strongly sympathize in favour of slavery. The impression has led to searchings of heart among friends of the Northern Union and the abolition of slavery, that if the church were sound in principle on this subject the government would be strong. Albert Barnes, in the time when he more prominently agitated this subject than he has done lately, affirmed "that there was no

power *out* of the church which could sustain slavery an hour, if it was not sustained *in* it." There were frequent and animated discussions in the A. B. C. F. for missions in the Bible Society and Tract Society, owing to pro-slavery action or non-resistance. Other societies were organized to counteract their procedure. But the change which has pervaded all religious associations is so marked and favourable to emancipation, that it is fondly predicted the clergy and the ladies in the North will unite not only in supporting the Federal government, but also in washing out the disgrace of slavery from the national reputation, and in establishing the claims of the coloured classes to equal benefits from law and government, and the full enjoyment of all the advantages of the American constitution for men and citizens.

CHAPTER III.

ASPECTS OF THE QUESTION AND ELEMENTS OF POPULAR INFLUENCE.

THE extended influence of anti-slavery sentiment in the United States, in the year 1863, is a *phenomenon* which suggests further inquiry. Nations do not leap into revolutions, or become the theatre of great events, without preliminary and adequate influences. Causes, however latent, and processes of preparation, however unobserved, operate in the minds of the people. Thus has Italy become the arena for the march of freedom, and thus are the present struggles in Prussia and the hopeful though bloody strife in Poland schooling these nations for a higher position in Europe. The time of Austria or Russia is not yet. France had a tedious course, beginning with the Edict of Nantes, the events of its revocation, the butcheries of St. Bartholomew, the luxury, licentiousness, and despotism of the *Grand Monarque*, the hollow hypocrisies and fawning flatteries of the fifteenth Louis; the feeble, vacillating and gaudy extravagances of Louis the Sixteenth and his queen; while a corrupt priesthood and pretentious hierarchy left the people a prey to infidel philosophy and aspiring demagogues; until the revolutions, conventions, and exasperated victims of oppression overturned the altars and the throne, and opened the path for Napoleon, his code of laws, and imperial ascendancy. The seat of liberty has not yet been there established in righteousness; but there is progress. England passed through the times and tyranny of the

Tudors, and arbitrary efforts for despotism of the Stuarts; before the Puritanic, Parliamentary, and Nonconformist contests, sufferings, and virtues gave hope of the maturity of a constitutional government. Both these great nations had a baptism of blood to inaugurate freedom.

America is no exception to the same law, however Republican her Constitution. The occasion of the struggle is identical in her and them; the liberty of all usurped by a privileged class. The Dutch captain who, in 1620, introduced to Virginia the first cargo of negroes, did not settle the question of slavery. The submission of Americans to the element of slavery as a power in the state was gradual and in the midst of much opposition from enlightened patriots and statesmen; and the process of her partial delivery from its ascendancy has been and must be through much tribulation. The path of a nation's repentance does not lie through the vales of paradise, though leading to a better state; and where repentance comes not, there is judicial compensation. The ten plagues of Egypt opened the way for Israel's escape from thralldom, but were the precursors to the annihilation of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea. The sunny side of Southern slavery has been painted by weak, wicked, or interested visitors who have brought back reports of the happy and contented condition of the slave population, which the writer witnessed. He had been in the parlour, not in the kitchen; in the conservatory, not in the cane or cotton-tree field. He had not followed the gang under the driver or overseer; it would have been a poor pastime, uncomfortable or intolerable in a cold or hot day. He had not been invited, and he had not been so intrusive as to go unasked to the negro quarters or inquired of the wearers what clothes were worn in the fields, what food provided, how and when it was allowed to be eaten, when, how, and where were the indolent, perverse, and refractory punished. But the emissaries

and spies of abolitionism were becoming too inquisitive and prying, and the impression was apprehended as likely to prevail that fancy pictures, presented by apologists for the South, were a violation of truth and a caricature of facts. Therefore it was, numerous instances occurred of arbitrary and pro-slavery pretension to the administration of justice. John L. Brown was seen walking with a young coloured woman in South Carolina; he was accused of having attempted to aid her escape, was tried and sentenced to death by the governor of the state. Tidings of the sentence reached England. Lord Brougham brought the fact forward in the House of Lords; indignation at the atrocious sentence was expressed at public meetings in Edinburgh and elsewhere. British public opinion aided other influences. The Carolina governor's sentence was commuted to fifty lashes, and afterwards the lashes were remitted on condition the innocent man should leave the state. This was in 1844. Two years before this date the Rev. C. T. Torrey had been imprisoned at Annapolis, Maryland, for taking part with the coloured people; but during his incarceration he found time to reduce to a system what has since been called "the Underground Railway;" whereby the fugitive was entrusted to one accredited agent after another, till he was conveyed from the slavo states to Canada. By his own direct instrumentality he knew he had liberated four hundred human beings from a state many times worse than death. On the 25th of June, 1844, he was arrested at Baltimore on the charge of helping slaves to escape. After much delay, and three days' trial, on the testimony of witnesses whose perjury was manifest, he was declared guilty, sentenced to six years' imprisonment in the penitentiary. After protracted suffering, he died, on the 9th May, 1846, a martyr to the cause of the slave. About the same time, for the same offence, Messrs. Thompson, Work, and Burr were sentenced to three years' im-

prisonment, while their families were exposed to poverty and their own health was greatly injured. Captain Walker had permitted seven slaves to sail in his vessel from Pensacola in Florida; his vessel was captured—the slaves returned to their bondage—Captain Walker imprisoned till his life was endangered, was tried, convicted, and placed in the pillory, when the letters S. S. (slave-stealer) were *branded* on his hand with a red-hot iron. His was “the Branded Hand” for freedom’s sake.

The election of a republican President who had been free to utter the sentiment that a nation could not prosper or be at peace which was “half slave and half free,” brought to a culmination causes which were previously in operation. It is a perversion, which only a dishonest abettor of slavery could deliberately commit, to represent the election of President Lincoln a fraud upon the South, on the ground that he had previous to his candidature expressed himself violently opposed to anything which would disturb the peace of the Southern people, and had not only declared his intention not to interfere with their domestic institution, but had commenced his administration with that determination. The public speaker who can argue thus, and the fact notoriously before him, that Carolina had seceded, and the convention at Montgomery had inaugurated the Confederacy, prior to Mr. Lincoln’s occupation of the Presidential chair, will dare to say anything. But we must look elsewhere, and search for causes further back and deeper, into the ramifications of American society to ascertain the springs of conduct which ultimately developed the reasons of the conflict. The constant pressure of the slave power in the legislature and upon the policy of their creatures, the presidents, was intensely directed to the increase of slave states in the Union.

The annexation of Texas in 1846, and the war with Mexico in 1847, were Southern measures, and added greatly to the

slave power, as they were both designed to do. Cuba has been coveted, conspired for, and sought to be secured by purchase in the same interest; and the filibustering expeditions which exposed Americans to destruction and disgrace, were promoted for the same object. The state procedure in the South had in view their "institution" when they laboured for the suppression of free speech, free schools, and a free press. Nothing should be said or made known about operations and offences of slavery. Legal offences it was not acknowledged to have. The influence was secured of unscrupulous advocates and abettors of the system in churches and church courts, in religious organizations, in courts of law and in Congress. The vigilance of espionage was exercised, and the terrors of lynch law were invoked. The party were disappointed by the political attitude of California, which they had hoped to have brought into the Union as a slave state; but this only stimulated them to more vigorous and unscrupulous means. The Missouri Compromise had been accepted by the slave power, though it did not afterward work to their satisfaction. In the year 1820, the eastern portion of territory belonging to Massachusetts was yielded to the disposal of the general government to be organized as a free state; the slave power opposed it, unless a new slave state should be also constituted on the banks of the Missouri and Mississippi. This was opposed by the North with a threat to dissolve the Union unless it should be allowed as a condition annexed that no slave state should be organized within the parallel of 36° 30' north latitude, and west of the Missouri; the northern side of the line being held sacred to freedom. The vote on this occasion did not however bind a future Congress. The act was passed in March 1820; but further negotiation was rendered necessary by a provision in the state constitution presented to the next meeting of Congress. The Missourians com-

plied with the conditions thence required, and they were admitted to the Union, August, 1821, by the President's proclamation. Furtive attempts to extend the area of slavery were made, and with success. In 1836 a fertile addition to the *west* of the line was obtained by a violation of treaties with the Indians. Smuggled through Congress as the bill was, the North was not timely enough apprised of it so as to prevent the sanction of law. But hence originated much of the strife in Kansas. In 1853 and 1854, an attempt was made to create two new slave states out of lands solemnly consecrated to liberty by the "Compromise;" the Kansas Nebraska bill was passed, nullifying the enactment designing to facilitate the organization of states bearing these names and appropriated to slavery, in the Senate on the 4th of March, 1854, and in the House of Representatives on the 15th of May. Mr. W. H. Seward and Mr. C. Sumner vigorously, but unsuccessfully, opposed the measure of enactment; but the Northern, chiefly New England people, frustrated the device by occupying territory in Kansas, and fighting against the Missouri border ruffians. Nebraska remains a territory and Kansas is a free state. The compromise was repudiated by the South, yet the guilty parties were not strengthened by their scheme.

Emigration flowed rapidly into Kansas both from North and South. In the North, societies were formed to promote the migration of anti-slavery settlers, that they might uphold the cause of freedom. But for a time the majority was favourable to slavery. Missouri bordered Kansas, and her population was pro-slavery, and jealously guarded the interests of Southern conspirators. Every obstacle was thrown in the way of Northern emigrants. They were driven back; they were tarred and feathered; their claims and allotments of land were seized; their cabins were burned down; they were often ordered by committees of

Southern emigrants, or the interlopers from Missouri, to leave the territory at once under penalty of death. A paragraph of a speech from one of the latter class will illustrate their mode of procedure. He had assumed the title and authority of a general:—

“I tell you to mark every scoundrel among you, who is the least tainted with abolitionism, or free-soil-ism, and exterminate him. Neither give nor take quarter from the — rascals. . . . I advise you one and all, to enter every election district in Kansas in defiance of Ruder (the acting governor) and his myrmidons, and vote at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver. . . . It is enough that the slave-holding interest wills it—from which there is no appeal.”

For months was this conflict maintained, and President Pierse knew it and winked at the barbarities perpetrated in the behalf of slavery. Atrocious murders were allowed to pass unnoticed. The polls for election purposes were kept closed at various place; never once did the Federal authorities interfere to preserve the purity of the ballot-box, or the right of free speech. A clergyman had said in private conversation, that he was a *Free State* man: he was tarred, feathered, and sent down the river on a raft—Federal office-holders leading and encouraging the rioters. Yet the Northern emigrants persevered in the struggle, suffered, and prayed, stood by each other until their minority triumphed; and Kansas was admitted a Free State into the Union by Mr. Lincoln, January 29, 1861.

Nebraska, with an increasing population, already more than 30,000, remains a territory of the United States, but a law has passed the legislature, and received the President's signature, that the Territories shall be for ever free of slavery.

A mode of benevolent and philanthropic interference in behalf of the bondmen, which has not only illustrated the system prevalent in slave states, but has awakened increas-

ing sympathy with their lot, and abhorrence of the power under which they are held, is the attempt to impart the knowledge of letters, and an acquaintance with the Word of God for their salvation. Kentucky and Maryland are the only slave states in which it is lawful to give the bondman any instruction in letters. But, in 1834, the Synod of Kentucky gave this testimony: "*Throughout the whole land, so far as we can learn, there is but one school in which, during the week, slaves can be taught.*" A delegate of Virginia expressed his judgment in the following words: "If we could extinguish the capacity (in slaves) to see the light, our work would be completed. They would then be on a level with the beasts of the field, and we should be safe! I am not certain that we would not do so, if we could find out the process, and that on the plea of necessity." In the same spirit is the legislation of Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, North and South Carolina. Virginia alone does not interdict the *owner* from teaching his slaves to read. South Carolina discriminates the several persons whose guilt shall be punished, each in their respective degrees—a free *white* person, a free person of *colour*, a slave, severally as follows: a fine and imprisonment; fifty lashes and fine; and fifty lashes. But farther, if any slave or free person of *colour* shall keep a school for teaching a slave or *free person of colour*, the same punishments shall be inflicted. In an atmosphere so darkened, Miss Prudence Crandall, whose home was in the village of Canterbury, in a slave state, advertised, March 1833, that she would receive into her female boarding school, "young ladies and little *misses of colour*." The parents of some of her pupils had already objected to their children being associated with children of *colour*, if more than one little girl of very light *colour*, already in the school, were admitted. A town meeting was called on the appearance of the advertisement, and the school was denounced. The state passed a law

making it a penal offence to establish any school for the instruction of coloured persons not inhabitants of the state, etc. Miss Crandall persevered with her school, was imprisoned, bailed out, tried, but escaped by a disagreement of the jury; was again prosecuted and convicted, appealed to a higher court, bore up against a long prosecution. Her fences were pulled down, her wells filled up, local traders refused to supply her with goods, her pupils were refused admission to the churches, her windows repeatedly broken at night, the parents of her pupils menaced, and she was at last compelled to retire from the place.

Mrs. Beecher Stowe has described the case of Miss Miner, which further illustrates the virtues of a heroine and the baseness of the slaveholder. "Miss Miner has been for many years a heroic and most indefatigable labourer for the coloured people of Washington. She has been gifted by nature with singular talents for this work, and endowed by God's grace with a courage, zeal, and devotion, such as are given to but few. When her school was yet in its infancy it excited bitter opposition. A man one day called upon her, and told her that a mob was organized to destroy her school-room, as they were determined that her school should no longer exist. 'What good will it do to destroy my school-room?' was her reply; 'I shall only get another and go right on.' 'But,' said he, 'we will frighten your scholars, so that they will not dare to come to you.' 'No, you will not,' said she; 'wherever I dare to go to teach they will dare to come to learn.' Then, fixing her eyes very decidedly on the man, she added, 'You may tell your associates that destroying any number of school-houses will not stop my school; you cannot stop it unless you take my life.' The man retired, and the school-room remained unmolested. This school has exerted a great influence on the minds of many slaveholders, who on visiting it have been struck with the capabilities, under education, of the very

people whom they hold in slavery." Amidst trials and difficulties this school continued for many years; Mrs. Stowe appropriated to its support 1000 dollars of the "Penny Offering" fund. Mrs. M. Douglas, of Norfolk, Virginia, was a respectable widow lady, who, with her daughter had settled there from South Carolina. They were quietly and honourably maintaining themselves, and doing deeds of charity. About the end of the year 1851 Mrs. Douglas had met with some intelligent little coloured children, who were earnestly desirous of learning to read. She offered the services of her daughter to help them; and, after a time, finding they made great progress, it was decided to open a regular school for little coloured children. This was an entirely satisfactory undertaking, and for nearly a year the little ones came with great pleasure to learn to read and write, and evinced great aptitude. On the 9th of May, 1853, under the authority of the Mayor, constables were sent to arrest Mrs. Douglas, her daughter, and their eighteen or twenty coloured pupils. The latter were dispersed, and Mrs. Douglas and her daughter were remanded for examination. Mrs. Douglas was quite ignorant of the laws of the state, which prohibited the teaching of coloured children; nevertheless, when summoned for trial, she pleaded her own defence with a dignity most unexpected by the prosecuting party. She was sentenced to a month's imprisonment, and her sufferings and privations connected therewith were not bounded by the length of her sentence.

The story of Lane Seminary gives collateral illustration, and is worthy a place among conspiring causes. Dr. Lyman Beecher was president; forty theological students attended the lectures, most of them about the age of twenty-one years, and many of them sons and brothers of slaveholders. They felt the institution must exercise an influence not alone in Cincinnati, where it was situated, but over the Western states, and even on the condition of the two slave

states which bordered Ohio. They aimed, therefore, to sustain Lane Seminary, as occupying high moral ground. They recognized as a principle "that *free* discussion with corresponding effort is a DUTY, and, of course, a *right*," and applied it to the lectures they received—to Missions, Sunday-schools, Temperance, and *Slavery*. They decided, after discussion, that slavery is a sin, and ought immediately to be renounced; and on this conclusion they *acted*. Here, however, they met obstacles which became insuperable in their relation to the seminary. Slavery was *forbidden* as a theme of farther consideration by the faculty, and the power of expulsion was conferred on the Executive Committee of the College for any violation of the interdict. The proximity to slave states and the dependence of the institution for at least part of its resources upon the goodwill of slaveholders were regarded as prudential motives. Two of the forty theological, and five of the sixty classical students succumbed to authority, and remained. The president and faculty testified to the respectful and orderly conduct of the dissidents who, with sad and un murmuring resolution, renounced their place in the seminary, where they had enjoyed facilities for acquiring useful instruction; but a solemn conviction of duty prompted, and a calm survey of the difficulties in their path did not appal them. The lives of some might have been imperilled had they returned home, and the resources of many were cut off, but they took up their cross. Forty students of the number sought to found another institution, where freedom of thought and speech might be secure, and where students of all conditions and colour might be educated. In the north-east of Ohio they repaired to the forest, cleared a tract of land, and raised for shelter a building made of pieces of rough wood laid one upon the other. Without endowment, and with little pecuniary help, they toiled through the winter of 1834 and 1835, and commenced the college of

Oberlin. Their difficulties, though great, were overcome, but they established a reputation which attracted men, learned, noble, and of disinterested minds, who offered to become teachers of such pupils. The tutors laid aside their upper garments, toiled in the forest for one part, and gave lectures in another part of each day. Applicants, men and women, sought admission, to be qualified as teachers of coloured people, and their answer when told there were no funds was, "We will provide for ourselves if you will let us stay." A brick house was erected containing ninety-two rooms; a practical farmer superintended the industry of the young men, and the young women cared for the dairy, the household, and the clothes, while time was given to all to acquire learning fitting them to act as teachers of others; simple fare sufficed such aspirants for usefulness, and few were sick. When the clothing of one was worn bare and he had to go abroad, another lent his garment. One student laid down his all for the institution. A farmer drove over a cow from a distance—the only gift he had to bestow; another living eleven miles off accommodated the new candidates who could not be received into the establishment—for a year and a half he boarded and lodged *seventy*. Another of like spirit welcomed thirty students and their professor for the same length of time. A noble woman, subdued by her toil and care, died with generous resignation, yielding to the cause heart and hand in co-operation with her husband. Thus Oberlin rose, situated within about thirty miles of Cleveland, and survives as an ornament to Ohio. In 1858 its liberal principles were tested. A poor fugitive slave was decoyed in the adjoining fields, and almost carried off, by kidnappers, to slavery; the students, joined with others, rushed to the rescue, delivered the victim of oppression by sending him to Canada. A professor, ministers, students, teachers, and other citizens were imprisoned and severely fined; but the spirit which

Oberlin inspires, and God who sustains the right and the cause of the needy, upheld the martyrs, and the prison gave forth testimonies to freedom, and the cause of the slave, which brought honour upon Oberlin and prayers for its prosperity.

The students who worked while they pursued their academic course were not unwilling to work for the same cause when they had finished. Amos Dresser, one of their number, acting as a colporteur, and thus circulating the Bible and other congenial books, proceeded from Cincinnati southward to Tennessee. At Nashville he was arrested on the suspicion of being an Abolitionist. He was guiltless in action, as he had not spoken to a slave nor distributed books among free people of colour. Sixty-two of the inhabitants, among whom were seven *elders* of a Presbyterian church, sat as a *vigilance* committee to examine him, and his trunk. Three anti-slavery volumes for his own reading, and some newspapers of abolition character, put in to preserve the volumes from chafing each other, and his private journal and letters, were found; the chairman could not decipher these last, but he affirmed they were "evidently very hostile to slavery." The committee agreed he had broken no law, but resolved to make *law for the occasion* to protect slavery against attacks from opinion. The traveller was found guilty on three points: belonging to an Abolition society in another state, possessing books of anti-slavery tendency, and being presumed to have circulated some of these in his journey. The judges had debated whether the offender should be sentenced to thirty-nine or a hundred lashes, or death by hanging. He was, however, condemned to receive twenty lashes in the market-place, and just as the chimes were ushering in the Sabbath morning, by torch-light the brutal sentence was inflicted. Mr. Dresser bore the suffering without fear, and with thanksgiving, the utterance of which was drowned in oaths, and cries of

"stop his praying." A considerate inhabitant stealthily received him to his house, washed and dressed his wounds, and sent him on his way disguised.

Another of the forty students at Lane Seminary was Theodore Weld, who continues the firm and unflinching advocate of the slave by his pen, his social position, and by his *voice* when he is able to use it. His wife, Angelina Grimke, with a grace and eloquence peculiar to women when wont to address public audiences, pleads the same cause, though the daughter of a Southern judge, and sister of a Southern slaveholder. Her well-weighed testimony is that "no one who has not been *an integral part of a slaveholding community* can have any idea of its abominations. It is a whited sepulchre full of dead men's bones, and all uncleanness." At their brother's death, she and her sister became heirs to his estates. They strove by all means to ameliorate the condition of the slaves conveyed by inheritance. They attempted, in defiance of law, to educate them. But finding that the benefits of freedom cannot be imparted to slavery, they surrendered all prospects of gain at the dictate of conscience. They freed their slaves, enabled them to provide for themselves in a free state, and themselves retired to live on the remnant of their former opulence. From such retirement, the devout spirit of self-sacrifice comes forth in a "hope" which "gleams across my mind that *our* blood will be spilt instead of the slaveholder's; our lives will be taken, and theirs spared. I say a hope, for of all things, I desire to be spared the anguish of seeing our beloved country desolated with the horrors of a servile war."

Reubin Crandall, Esq., M.D., of Westchester county, a gentleman of high literary and scientific acquirements, manners and deportment alike honourable to the scholar, and a devoted Christian, was reputed one of the purest, most disinterested, and amiable of men. But, like his sis-

ter, his sympathies were favourable to freedom for the coloured people. He had settled in Washington as a teacher of botany, and was arrested, and thrown into prison, August 11, 1835, charged with circulating incendiary publications, intending to excite the slaves to insurrection. Kept in jail for eight months, he was brought to trial before Judge Cranch. It was proved that he had in his trunk some anti-slavery pamphlets and papers, but that the latter were used for wrapping his botanical specimens in, and that, on request, he had lent to a white citizen one of the pamphlets. The "incendiary" matter read in court from these papers were articles against slavery, and in favour of the right of the free coloured people to reside in America. The effort to prove more, or even that he was a member of the Anti-slavery Society failed. Yet was it urged by the district attorney that the jury should find him guilty, with a view to capital punishment. The verdict returned was "not guilty," but the prosecutors had done their cruel work. Eight months' close confinement in a damp dungeon, untried, unguilty, and with spotless integrity struck the arrow of a lingering consumption in his system, of which he died while trying to recover by change of climate. Though adjudged innocent, himself a free citizen of the great Republic, yet was he effectually murdered on the national hearth-stone in the Federal districts, under exclusive "jurisdiction of Congress," because *suspected* of having disseminated publications hostile to slavery.

Elijah P. Lovejoy was a citizen of Maine, and practised law at St. Louis. Afterward desiring to enter the ministry, though a graduate of Westerville College, he finished his preparations at Princeton, N. I. The Sunday-school Union employed him as their agent, but he was subsequently appointed editor of a religious paper at St. Louis. In this position he advocated the right of free discussion. When a free coloured man was burnt to death near the city

he denounced the outrage, for which he was compelled to leave Missouri, when he settled at Alton, Illinois, 1837. Here he avowed his sentiments as an Abolitionist, publishing a full statement of his views in the "Alton Observer." In consequence, his press and office were three times destroyed, and as often replaced by the friends of liberty and law. Early in November in the same year, at a public meeting convened ostensibly to allay excitement, but really to intimidate him and crush the liberty of the press, Mr. Lovejoy appeared, and in a speech of great power, defended his cause and rights. A new press was procured, and lodged in a stone warehouse, where Mr. Lovejoy and other friends stationed themselves, in the apprehension that it would be attacked. The fear was realized, both parties were armed, several volleys were fired, and an attempt made to set fire to the building. Mr. Lovejoy went out to prevent its success, and fell pierced by three buckshots. His wife had previously, at St. Charles, stood by him when he was brutally assaulted. When his mother heard of his death, she said, "It is well. I had rather he should fall a martyr to his cause than prove recreant to his principles." He left a widow and children to Divine providence. His companions effected their escape.

General William L. Chaplain, a lawyer by profession, though a native of Massachusetts, a citizen of the state of New York, a lecturer, an editor, a reporter of proceedings in Congress, a political leader and candidate for office in the liberal party, was arrested irregularly by the Washington police, within the borders of Maryland, in the night season. His carriage wheels were blocked, he was knocked from his seat, conveyed back into the city, and thrown into prison, charged with carrying away slaves. The Governor of Maryland made requisition of the Federal Executive for the delivery of Chaplain to be tried for an offence committed in that state. Bail in 6000 dollars from the district pri-

son placed him at the disposal of the Maryland authorities, and he was conveyed to Rockville, Maryland, where he was held for three months, when he was released on the extravagant bail of 19,000 dollars, raised by his friends in the free states, all because he had ranked as an advocate of the coloured race, and had done something for their liberty.

William Shreve Bailey started in Newport, Kentucky, as a machine-maker, about 1849; his sympathies were aroused for the slaves, and though in a slave state he ventured to plead their cause in a newly-started paper. The wrath of the neighbouring slaveholders was excited, and they extracted from the publisher the name of the writer. He was visited in his machine-shop, and, but for his workmen, the assault might have ended in his death. To meet the demands of the proprietor, he purchased the press and printing materials, and the "Newport News" henceforth issued from the machine-shop. The paper succeeded for some time amidst violent opposition from slaveholders, who at last resorted to their ultimate expedient, and on the 6th October, 1851, set fire to the premises, burning down machine-shop and press. Mr. Bailey's loss amounted to 16,000 dollars. His operatives aided him to set up another press in his private house. A fresh set of types was produced, and the "Free South," a new name, was given to the journal. The scheme was now adopted to tamper with his workmen, who refused to work with him; he then had his own family taught to print. By degrees his wife and ten children learned to work as well and expeditiously as the other printers in the town. In 1857, a friend described the establishment: "Father, mother, and children, and even the little ones, toiling amid obloquy, reproach, and savage foes to redeem their state from the dreadful curse and sin of slavery. Mortgaging the homestead, working till midnight, practising rigid economy, making their house a citadel, where the

weapons of truth must be defended by the weapons of death, and that not for the sake of praise, but to honour [God, to save slaves and slaveholders, and wipe from Kentucky its foulest blot and shame,"—the wife and mother, the children and the brave man, husband and father, all nobler than any Spartan patriot. Death invaded the toilworn circle, and one of the little Abolitionists was carried to the grave by father, mother, brothers, and sisters, who returned again to labour for freedom and the slave amid reproaches and assaults. On the 29th of October, 1859, the last outrage of violence was perpetrated. The pro-slavery mob, having the night before forcibly entered the office, carried the types and scattered them along the streets, returned to assault the house; laying a plank, they battered down the door, entered the house and took off everything within reach, including Mr. Bailey's pocket-book containing nearly all his money. On this occasion the damage sustained was estimated at 3000 dollars. However, he again repaired the press, gathered the types from the streets, and once more the "Free South" was issued. But the resolute manager of this forlorn enterprise was seized and committed to prison on a charge of issuing incendiary publications. He was bailed and liberated for a time, when he sought in America and England to raise means which would enable him to renew the conflict. Mr. Lincoln's election brought matters to a different issue.

America was agitated from south to north and far west toward the close of 1859, and the earnest friends of the negro throughout Europe had all their sympathies awakened by events which had occurred at Harper's Ferry, and by *quasi* judicial proceedings at Richmond, and which terminated in the execution of Captain John Brown on a field about half a mile from the jail of the capital of Virginia, to which he had been conveyed in a furniture waggon. The sufferer was escorted from his prison to the place

where he should yield up his life, by "Captain Scott's company of cavalry; one company of Major Loring's battalion of Defensibles; Captain William's Montpelier guard; Captain Scott's Petersburg Greys, company D; Captain Miller of the Virginia volunteers; and the young guard, Captain Rady; the whole under the command of Colonel T. P. August, assisted by Major Loring—the cavalry at the head and rear of the column." On the road to the scaffold he thus replied to an inquiry: "It has been a characteristic of me from infancy not to suffer from physical fear. I have suffered a thousand times more from bashfulness than from fear." As he drew nearer he looked up earnestly at the sun and sky, and all about, and then remarked, "This is a beautiful country. I have not cast my eyes over it before, that is, while passing through the field." As the procession entered the field he remarked, "I see no citizens here; where are they?" "The citizens are not allowed to be present; none but the troops," was the reply. "That ought not to be," said the old man; "citizens should be allowed to be present as well as others." When he descended from the waggon and passed through opened ranks towards the scaffold, with firm step and erect form he calmly walked past jailers, sheriff, and officers: "Gentlemen, good-bye," said the hero, and mounted the steps—the hour had come—the officer approached him. To Captain Avis, his jailer, he said, "I have no words to thank you for all your kindness to me." His elbows and ankles were pinioned, the white cap drawn over his eyes, and the hangman's rope (a present from Kentucky) adjusted round his neck. John Brown waits to be ushered into the Divine presence. "Captain Brown," said the sheriff, "you are not standing on the drop; will you come forward?" "I can't see," was his answer, unfalteringly spoken; "you must lead me." He was led to the centre of the drop. "Shall I give you a handkerchief," asked the sheriff, "and

let you drop it as a signal?" "No: I am ready at any time; but do not keep me needlessly waiting." For ten minutes, in answer to the shout of an officer, "Not ready yet," and a military display hither and thither followed. At last the trap fell; its hinges gave a wailing sort of creak that could be heard at every part of the field.

With his sword and voice John Brown had demonstrated the unutterable villany of slavery. His corpse was destined to continue the lesson. The surgeons pronounced the victim dead; they declared that his spinal column had been ruptured. They said that the countenance was now purple and distorted. They knew that the cord had cut a finger's depth into the neck of the strangled corpse. The body was delivered to his widow at Harper's Ferry, and by her it was carried to North Elba, where it now lies at rest on the bosom of the majestic mountain regions that he loved when living. There was no vast assemblage of the so-called great at the interment; no pompous parade, no gorgeous procession, but loyal worth and noble genius stood at the grave of departed heroism. His friends and his family wept as the eloquent Wendell Phillips, chief of American living orators, pronounced the eulogium of John Brown, the latest and bravest martyr of the cause and claims of the long-injured negro.

Wherefore this execution, and why this parade of military power? the uninformed reader may inquire; and the headings of the first American telegrams announcing what many thought was the guilty occasion, read thus:—"HARPER'S FERRY.—Fearful and exciting intelligence! Negro insurrection at Harper's Ferry! Extensive negro conspiracy in Virginia and Maryland! Seizure of the United States arsenal by the insurrectionists! Arms taken and sent into the interior! The bridge fortified and defended by cannon! Trains fired into and stopped! Several persons killed! Telegraph wires cut! Contributions levied

on the citizens! Troops despatched against the insurgents from Washington and Baltimore!" Harper's Ferry is situated in Jefferson County, Virginia, at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers, and is 173 miles distant from Richmond. The alarm given by the telegraph showed that the slave masters expected a universal revolt, in all the State, of the slave population. The explanation given by some who took part in the movement, which spread such alarm, was that "the original intention of John Brown was to seize the arsenal at Harper's Ferry on the night of the 24th of October, 1859, and take the arms there deposited to the neighbouring mountains, with a number of the wealthier citizens of the vicinity as hostages, until they should redeem themselves by liberating an equal number of slaves. But it was suspected there was a traitor in the company, and therefore the premature attempt to strike the blow on the 17th. The precipitation of the movement caused its defeat, as negro parties, not being warned, were not ready. One of his confederates reports Captain Brown as closing an address to his followers, on the preceding Sunday, in this language:—"And now, gentlemen, let me press this one thing on your minds. You all know how dear life is to you, and how dear your lives are to your friends; and in remembering that, consider that the lives of others are as dear to them as yours are to you. Do not therefore take the life of any one, if you can avoid it; but if it is necessary to take life in order to save your own, then make sure work of it." In proof of his own readiness and self-possession, the description given by Colonel Washington, contending against him, will suffice:—"He was the coolest man he ever saw in defying death and danger. With one son dead by his side, and another shot through, he felt the pulse of his dying son with one hand and held his rifle with the other, and commanded his men with the utmost com-

posure, encouraging them to be firm, and to sell their lives as dearly as possible."

The captain himself spoke freely with Colonel Washington, and referred to his sons. He said he had lost one in Kansas, and two here. He had not pressed them to join him in the expedition, but did not regret their loss. They had died in a good cause. Wise, Governor of Virginia, spoke the result of his conference with Captain Brown in a few sentences. "They are themselves mistaken who take him to be a madman. He is a bundle of the best nerves I ever saw; cut and thrust, and bleeding, and in bonds. He is a man of clear head, of courage, fortitude, and simple ingenuousness. He is cool, collected, and indomitable; and it is but just to him to say that he was humane to his prisoners, as attested to me by Colonel Washington and Mr. Mills, and he inspired me with great trust in his integrity as a man of truth." His defenders could not ask more to accredit his own account of what he intended by his invasion of Virginia, and his occupation of Harper's Ferry. His last words, before he was pronounced guilty and doomed to death, were his version as before the bar of the Supreme Judge, and in it the knell of slavery was sounded:—

"I have, may it please the court, a few words to say. In the first place I deny everything but what I have all along admitted, the design on my part to free the slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clear thing of that matter, as I did last winter when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again, on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection. I have another objection, and that is, it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has

been fairly proved—(for I admire the truthfulness and candour of the greater portion of witnesses who have testified in this case)—had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class, and suffered, and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right, and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment. This court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or, at least, the New Testament. That teaches me that all things, 'whatsoever I would that men should do unto me, I should do even so to them.' It teaches me further to 'remember them that are in bonds as bound with them.' I endeavoured to act up to that instruction. I say, I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done, in behalf of His despised poor, was not wrong but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country, whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I submit. So let it be done.

"Let me say one word further.—I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intention and what was not. I never had any design against the life of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason, or excite slaves to rebel, or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind.

"Let me say, also, a word in regard to the statements made by some of those connected with me. I hear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me. But the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. There is not one of them but joined me of his own accord and the

greater part at their own expense. A number of them I never saw, and never had a word of conversation with them till the day they came to me, and that was for the purpose I have stated.

"Now I have done."

Probably no event ever excited so much attention or stimulated so much sympathy in America, even among those who could not defend Captain Brown's mode of proceeding. The alarm, however, of the slaveholders, of what they evidently thought was possible, the outbreak of a servile war in the slave states, not only lifted the veil from the dark omens of the system, but also demonstrated how unprepared they were to have resisted such a rebellion. Brown's personal virtues, his services and sufferings in Kansas, his stern antagonism to slavery, and his submission to Divine authority, taught many thoughtful Americans to abhor slavery more heartily, and seek its overthrow.

The tone of America was intensified by the Echoes from Harper's Ferry, and the funeral solemnities at Elba in the mountains—preparatory for the last Presidential election; and when the tocsin sounded for the civil war from Fort Sumter and the army of the Potomac, many rallied the more readily round the Stars and Stripes because John Brown had been doomed to death by a Virginia sentence and slaveholding functionaries. The "Life of Captain John Brown," and the "Echoes of Harper's Ferry," by Redpath, present proofs, and strikingly illustrate the power, of anti-slavery sentiment among the people of New England. They also furnish evidence of the nervous apprehensions of the slave-masters, how critical and insecure was their tenure of power, both as states and as slaveholders. The heroic old man, John Brown, did not live or die in vain, and his death did more for the ripening of the public mind for the abolition of slavery than has been

accomplished by the lives of many much-lauded patriots and champions of liberty.

It would not be a task to fill pages of narrative and personal delineation of men who have laboured with the tongue and the pen, and have endured reproach and persecution in the cause of the coloured people of America. James G. Birney was one of these; a man of rank and high in office and wealth, and political influence in his state, who unexpectedly declared himself an abolitionist. True to his convictions, he removed from Alabama, emancipated and settled all his slaves, started a newspaper in Cincinnati, where he stood his ground and established freedom of speech and of the press, notwithstanding threatening attempts on his life and liberty. Mr. Lewis Tappan, who has sustained a long and blameless life as the sympathizing friend of the negro, had his house sacked in New York, and his furniture burned in the street by a pro-slavery mob. William Lloyd Garrison, who still lives as the Liberator of the negro, was assailed with the cry, "Lynch him, Lynch him," was threatened to be thrown out of a window, and with a rope round his body was dragged by a furious crowd that they might tar and feather him. His hat was knocked from his head, while brick-bats were flying in all directions. He was lodged for safety in a prison, and thought it his honour to suffer for the cause of freedom. Wendell Phillips, the most effective orator of the United States, has consecrated his powers to the same service, and welcomed the opprobrium of abolitionism and exclusion from the highest offices which a more worldly use of his talents might have secured. Gerrit Smith, possessing influence and opportunities for aiming at the Presidency, with boundless wealth and extensive possessions in land, has yet contented himself to be the friend in need and patron of the coloured man and those who suffer for his sake. Dr. Channing, by a life-long devotion of his personal influence

his voice, his pen, and his pulpit, advocated the cause of the negro, and promoted the emancipation of the slave. Lyman Beecher and his honoured sons, receiving honour from their parentage, and returning honour to a venerable father, and not less honoured by the pen and talent of their sister, have served the cause of the oppressed by personal sacrifices and life-long toils. Henry Ward Beecher has sustained untarnished the reputation acquired in America by his gigantic labours in Europe as the unpaid advocate and ambassador of his people. Dr. Cheever may have been misunderstood, and his idiosyncracies may have tempted him to magnify special points in the anti-slavery controversy. Yet no more honest, persistent, self-denying advocate of the cause has, for long and trying years, sacrificed himself and consecrated his literary services to advance the liberty of the coloured man, and the honour of his country.

Men there are, though not much mentioned in English circles, who have yet laboured efficiently, and written well on slavery and anti-slavery. Some of them are now patri-archs, and might reckon on the reward of the retired warrior. The Revs. Messrs. William Goodell, Geo. Whipple, and S. S. Jocelyn, will have their place in the honoured throng, to whom it shall be said, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." There are in New York three venerated names, always received elsewhere with honour, and used as a power by all who know their worth: the Revs. Dr. Tyng, rector of St. George's; Dr. Asa D. Smith, president of Dartmouth College; and Dr. J. P. Thompson, of Broadway Tabernacle. The unfeigned adherence of these distinguished clergymen, in circles of vast social and religious influence, to the cause of the coloured people, slave or free, guarantees the progress of the cause, and attract to it the co-operation of multitudes throughout the land. Their

meetings, lectures, and epistolary communications, command deferential attention and confirm the wavering.

The statesmen who identified themselves with the cause of freedom from the days of Washington, including Thomas Jefferson, John Randolph, John Quincy Adams, till the present times, when W. H. Seward, S. P. Chase, Charles Sumner, Senator Wilson, and Mr. J. P. Hale, are united with others, would afford materials of great and various interest, to mark the progress and approaching triumph of the anti-slavery cause. The first President continued an indulgent slave-master; but in apprehension of eternity, manumitted his slaves in his last will and testament. Thomas Jefferson left his slaves in slavery; but surely it was because he anticipated the change which he said was "already perceptible" since the origin of the present (first) revolution. "The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave is rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, *the way I hope preparing, under the auspices of heaven, for a total emancipation.*" He had often dreaded the time "When the measure of their tears should be full, when their groans should have involved heaven itself in darkness, when doubtless a God of justice would awaken to their distress, and by his exterminating thunders, would manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality." "I tremble for my country," he said, "when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep for ever. The Almighty has no attributes that could take sides with us in such a contest as between slaves and their masters."

John Randolph had in 1816 moved in the House of Representatives for a committee to inquire into "the inhuman and illegal traffic" for buying and selling slaves, and in 1820 he rebuked the recreants to liberty, in the matter of the Missouri Compromise, by the designation which he coined on the occasion, to describe them as the "doe" which

startles at her own shadow in the water when she comes to drink ; " they saw," said he, " their own doe faces and were frightened." John Quincy Adams had opposed the annexation of Texas and the Mexican war, which were designed to promote slavery. He maintained that in time of war the government possessed a discretionary power to emancipate slaves. He proposed in Congress a plan for the prospective abolition of slavery through an amendment of the Constitution, in which he received only feeble support ; and, finally, the crowning act of his laborious public life, and which rendered him the benefactor of his country, was the restoration to the people of the right of petition, which slaveholders had denied in Congress. He was therefore threatened with assassination, with an indictment by the grand jury of the district, and with expulsion from the house ; and finally an ineffectual effort was made to pass a formal censure upon him for his persistency in pleading the cause of liberty. Messrs. Seward and Chase have attained their present position as the advocates of freedom and opponents of slavery. In 1847 the liberty party proposed, or nominated as candidate for the Presidency and Vice-presidency, Gerrit Smith and John P. Hale, an independent democrat, who had refused to do homage to the slave power, and was a party to the convention, which " Resolved, that it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself of all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery, wherever that government possesses constitutional authority to legislate on that subject, and is thus responsible for its existence."

Mr. Charles Sumner is a younger man than those with whom he has now been classed, and he was elected in 1851, a senator, in succession to Mr. Daniel Webster. He denounced, as with a tongue of fire, the Fugitive Slave Bill, and fulfilled his intention during a speech on Kansas, May 19 and 20, 1855, " to pronounce the most thorough philippic against

slavery ever uttered in a legislative body ;" and in 1860 he dissected and exposed with the knife of a skilful anatomist, "the barbarism of slavery." His personal services to the Republic as a senator have been unremitting ever since his election. But neither he nor any other man ever did so much for the overthrow of the hideous and brutal system of slavery, as he effected when he fell on the floor of Congress, in the sight of senators and representatives, under the bludgeon of Preston Brooks, on the 22nd of May, 1855. Brooks was a representative of South Carolina, and his colleague was Reitt. They both drew toward Mr. Sumner while he was busily engaged writing at his desk, stooping over his paper, and unprepared for resistance. Brooks struck him several severe blows on the head with a cane chosen for the deed ; the blows were repeated till Mr. Sumner fell, bleeding and senseless, on the senate chamber floor. The assailant avowed afterwards, that had any attempt been made to resist, his intention was to have killed Mr. Sumner. Other Southern senators, Messrs. Douglas, Slidell, and Tombs were spectators and approvers. Messrs. Murray and Morgan of the state of New York interposed and rescued the helpless victim, upon whom the assailant continued to repeat his blows. Ladies and distinguished personages in the South, in public meetings and by letters and presents, expressed their admiration of the deed, and showered their applause on the perpetrator of the crime. Mr. Sumner suffered long, and apprehensions were entertained he never would be able to *think* again. After a long interval of travel in Europe, intercourse with great and distinguished statesmen and patriots, and a recess from protracted thought, he again resumed his place and services. Europe and the world had been scandalized by the brutality and publicity of the crime. Never was any more fitting illustration of the system. It was not done, as Charles the First attempted to seize the free speaking

members of the English Commons, but as fiends would destroy their victims. The Northern states were roused hereby to bolder action in the Presidential election, when Colonel Fremont was the candidate; and a new era was inaugurated for anti-slavery action. Civilization, liberty for white as well as coloured people, freedom of speech in the legislative halls and everywhere, freedom everywhere, Christianity in its noblest enterprises, demanded a new order of things.

It is well known and felt that the most potent buttress of slavery in the South is female influence, and hence the special fitness of things that the women of the free states should co-operate with other agencies for its overthrow. The women of the anti-slavery cause are numerous, and their services are felt by their foes and appreciated by their allies. Mobs and villanous violence have been employed to put down their organizations. Incendiary and murderous conspiracies in Boston and Philadelphia were developed amidst tumultuous assemblies, to intimidate and overawe, but only with momentary success. Mrs. Chapman, Lydia M. Child, Mrs. Beecher Stowe, Fanny Kemble, added to the daughters of Mr. Grimke, may serve as the representative women to tell who have worked for their coloured sisterhood still under the brand of slavery. Mrs. Chapman, from her social position, possessing influence in society and talents to sustain any measure of responsibility in the work of a committee, was called to an important position, and by epistolary communications and wisdom in counsel, she served the cause at home and abroad. Lydia M. Child, as an authoress of popular reputation, wielded her pen and attached her name in the "Appeal on behalf of that class of Americans called Africans," and produced "The Right Way, the Safe Way, proved by Emancipation in the British West Indies and elsewhere." The sale of her publications as household volumes declined; and thus she

suffered in estate and reputation because she pleaded for the oppressed. But it did not abate her zeal or diminish her efforts in behalf of the slave. She is still a willing and efficient helper with her pen. Fanny Kemble's volume, the narrative of her own experiences and observations in the plantation and among the family and progeny of planters, has done more to disclose the abominations, cruelties, and miserable degradation of the slave charnel-house than was ever expected from eye-witness testimony. Her facts are stronger and worse than fiction, and corroborating "Uncle Tom" in the darkest touches of the moral picture. Mrs. Beecher Stowe by the magic of her pen, and the *vraisemblance* of her narrative, effectively mingling a religious sympathy and evangelical truth with the soft and affectionate tenderness of the negro character, gave attractiveness and power to her work which could not be resisted.

The hundreds of thousands of copies, in every variety of publication, which were sold of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and the many thousands which followed of "The Key," and of "Dred Scott" served to leaven the Anglo-Saxon mind in both countries, and inspire an abhorrence of the system which the planters deplored, and by which a strong impulse was given to the Anti-Slavery cause everywhere. The work was a preparation for the political events which have followed in the North and South. Beautifully does the authoress express herself: "I wrote what I did because, as a woman, as a mother, I was oppressed and heartbroken with the sorrows and injustice I saw; because, as a Christian, I felt the dishonour of Christianity; because, as a lover of my country, I trembled at the coming day of wrath. It is no merit in the sorrowing that they weep, nor to the oppressed that they gasp and struggle, nor to me that I must speak for those who cannot speak for themselves."

Happily, coloured men are coming forward to contend, as well as speak for their own cause in America. But already there have been many instances of talent and energy among the freed and the free-born men of colour. Mr. Frederick Douglass, Mr. Charles Remond, Mr. William Craft, the Rev. H. H. Garnett, the Rev. J. Sella Martin, and a host of other coloured gentlemen, who have occupied prominent and ministerial positions in the northern parts of the United States, are witnesses of the patriotism and loyalty of their kindred. They pray for the permanent "peace of their country, based upon liberty and the enjoyment of man's inalienable rights, for the preservation of the American Union, and for the reign of that righteousness in the hearts of the people that saves from reproach and exalteth a nation." They have also laboured and suffered for this end, in proof that their prayers have been sincere. The coloured clergy of all denominations, who faithfully discharge ministerial and pastoral duties among a despised and suffering people, give proof that talent, piety, and diligence may be found among the ransomed people, who have heard the joyful sound. The necessary improvement in their condition, following the present changes, will afford yet wider scope for the energies and zeal of these servants of God and their country.

The ecclesiastical influences, from 1800 till 1850, which pervaded America on the slave question, have been analyzed by the Rev. William Goodell, in his "Slavery and Anti-Slavery;" and having passed in review the proceedings of each sect—the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian, new and old school, the Congregationalists, Baptists, the Protestant Episcopal Church, and other sects—he condemns each for complicity, either for selling or holding slaves, or for *supporting* candidates for Congress or office who supported the system, and having quoted, endorses the truth of the representation: "If slavery be a sin, and

advertizing and apprehending slaves with a view to restore them to their masters is a direct violation of the Divine law, and if the *buying, selling, and holding* a slave FOR THE SAKE OF GAIN is a heinous sin and scandal, then verily three-fourths of all the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians in eleven states of the Union are of the devil. They hold, if they do not buy and sell slaves (with few exceptions), they hesitate not to apprehend and restore runaway slaves, when in their power"—the words of the Rev. James Smylie, M.A. He further quotes the editor of a periodical of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as corroborating the statement: "If, however, the holding of men, women, and children in bondage, under the *ordinary circumstances* that connect themselves with *slavery in the Southern states*, constitutes us (the Methodist Episcopal Church) a pro-slavery church, then we are a pro-slavery church in this restricted or privately-understood interpretation, for we do not regard slaveholding as sinful as it *exists in the Southern states*, provided the master feeds, instructs, and governs his slaves, according to the directions laid down in God's word." Mr. Goodell affirms the fact is established by credible testimony, that slaveholding church members, in general, did not give their slaves any more religious instruction than did other slaveholders, which in most cases was none at all; so that the slaves, to use their own language, were in the condition of heathenism. In 1801 the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church uttered this sentiment: "We are more than ever convinced of the great evil of African slavery, which still exists in these United States." Dr. Hedding, one of its bishops, declared, 1838, "the right to hold a slave is founded on this rule—'Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets'!!" The conference of this body was divided into antagonist bodies

in 1840; the action which led to separation was "simply against slaveholding by the episcopacy, upon the ground of expediency. It is computed that there were, in 1850, not less than four thousand slaveholders in the Methodist Episcopal Church, North, and twenty-seven thousand slaves."—*True Wesleyan*. The Presbyterian Church, in 1794, recorded its testimony, "that it is *man stealing* to keep, sell, or buy slaves, or retain men in slavery." In 1836 a report was accepted by their synod, affirming that slavery is connected with the laws of the states, with which it is by no means proper for an ecclesiastical body to interfere. In 1837 their General Assembly excinded four presbyteries on the alleged account of theological differences; but these presbyteries contained the most vigorous anti-slavery members. The new and old school Presbyterians separated in 1838, probably for the reason for which the four presbyteries were cut off; however, three slaveholding presbyteries were represented in the New School, and nearly forty such presbyteries adhered to the Old School, which firmly held the dogma, "that slaveholding in itself is a crime, is not only an error, but it is an error fraught with serious consequences." This was a view inculcated by Professor *Hodge* of Princeton. In 1843 the General Assembly of the New School "censured the action of those anti-slavery presbyteries which had excluded slaveholding from their pulpits and communion tables, and requested them to rescind their acts;" and in 1850 it unanimously adopted the proposal to commune, or at least expressed a readiness to do so, with the Old School, at the time when a great portion of that body, at the South, were zealous for the extension of slavery, were slave sellers and propagandists. The Congregationalists, from the independency of their ecclesiastical action, cannot be so closely scrutinized. The Congregational ministers in convention, in 1848, affirmed that it well became them, as of the ancient

commonwealth of Massachusetts, solemnly to declare to the world their deep conviction of the injustice and inhumanity of the system of slavery, and of its absolute repugnance to all the principles of the Word of God. The Congregational ministers of Maine are reputed to have been a little more earnest in their condemnation of slavery than those of Massachusetts and Connecticut. The Baptists are even more miscellaneous in their ecclesiastical relations than are the Congregationalists; but among them, as among the Protestant Episcopal Church, there was less resistance to the slave system than in the other denominations. These summaries are here presented to demonstrate what was the atmosphere in which anti-slavery organizations were called to move, and amidst what discouragements the friends of the slave had to proceed when they sought to contend against the prejudice to colour, or to seek to elevate the freed negro or the refugees from slavery.

The Fugitive Slave Law was enacted in 1850, and was indebted to Daniel Webster and Henry Clay for its acceptance, as the project of thirteen members; constituting a committee to counteract the admission of California and New Mexico as free states, for which the people of those countries had applied. The conspirators had all the aid of Mr. Mason, recently an envoy from the Confederates in England. The proposal excited alarm and opposition in all free states, especially New England. But ultimately the measure was carried, and received the signature of Millard Fillmore in the *greatest haste*. General Taylor, President, had died. The substance of the law is summarized by Mr. Goodell: "It is supplementary to an act in 1793, for facilitating the recapture of fugitive slaves. It effectually breaks down all the remaining defences of personal liberty in the non-slaveholding states; and every man, black or white, it makes no difference, holds his exemption

from chattelhood, so far as legal protection is concerned, at the mercy of any Southern man who may choose to claim him as his slave, in connection with any one of a horde of government officials to be appointed for the special purpose, who is authorized to surrender him without jury trial, with no testimony but that of the claimant or his agent, while the testimony of the person claimed is not to be received. All citizens are commanded to assist in seizing and surrendering fugitives, and all persons are forbidden to harbour them or aid their escape, under penalty of one thousand dollars; with imprisonment not exceeding six months, besides one thousand dollars to be recovered in a civil suit for damages, for each slave so aided or harboured."

So soon as the enactment was effected, slave catchers and thieves were on the alert; no coloured man or woman was safe in all the United States, even of those who by state laws were born free; many such were kidnapped and enslaved. Miss Wigham, in her interesting little work on America, says, "Terror reigned, and whole families, and the larger portion of coloured churches, set out under cover of night, in the cold winter of 1850-1, to seek the protection of Queen Victoria in Canada, where their sufferings from the climate and inadequate provision were very great. The Abolitionists had work enough now on their hands—to warn the fugitives of danger, to aid them to escape, to defend them in court if brought to trial, to stand by them in every circumstance, and to share their trials by sympathy and fellow-suffering." The cases in which public commotion followed the seizure of the victims of this law, were numerous and monstrous. In one case nearly fifty coloured men rallied to the rescue of the alleged fugitive; the slaveholder claiming his slave was killed, and his son wounded, and an exciting trial was conducted under a Judge Grier, when, strange to say, the accused were acquitted. Another case occurred at Syracuse, when the

fugitive escaped. A third case may be mentioned, where a free woman was seized; she and her sister were released, but the kind man who had befriended them and borne witness to their freedom, was found suspended from a tree, after he had left the court to return home. A Mr. Kauffman was prosecuted for concealing a fugitive, because a night's lodging and food had been supplied in his barn; he was assessed with 2800 dollars as damages, though it had not been *proved* that he knew the coloured people were slaves. The case of Anthony Burns, arrested on the 24th May, 1854, in Boston, and carried to slavery on the 2nd June, excited much attention. This case drew forth from their retirement 4000 leading merchants as petitioners to Congress for the repeal of the law. They had never intermeddled in anti-slavery matters before. One of the police authorities resigned his office rather than have such work to perform; and an influential meeting of gentlemen convened to do honour to him, presented a testimonial of their admiration. The Fugitive Slave Law helped to mature the public mind for the present crisis. One other stage, in the national theatre, was enacted in the Supreme Court of the United States—a court to which appeals from *all* the states may be carried in civil cases, regulated by Federal laws.

The number of judges is nine; and, as appeared, four were from the slave states, and three others sympathized with slavery. One, named Judge Taney, argued so strongly as to express an opinion on what was not before the court, and affirmed that "*black* men have no rights which white men are bound to respect." In vain might the black man plead that not his sin but his God had made him black; that more than half of the human family have dark complexion, and that many men of colour have a mixture of white men's blood in their veins, by descent from their masters; but that inspiration had taught that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the

earth." Dred Scott was claimed as a slave by a Missouri planter. The master had taken him into Illinois, and to a territory where slavery had been prohibited by Congress. He claimed his freedom on his return to Missouri, because his master had voluntarily taken him into a free state; and since the laws of that state held him free he could not be again enslaved, though now living in a slave state. The court to which his case was submitted upheld the validity of his claim for freedom, and his master appealed to the Supreme Court. Here two judges, McLean and Curtis, sustained the decision of the lower court; but Judge Taney and a majority reversed the judgment, and restored Scott to bondage. The decision aroused a spirit of antagonism in several Northern states. New York, Maine, and Ohio passed laws securing freedom to all coloured persons brought by their masters within their borders. Other kindred enactments for coloured persons were passed, indicating a desire to show righteous and liberal legislation. Personal liberty bills were prepared to prevent the seizure of persons entitled to their freedom. Such measures could not nullify the Fugitive Slave Law of the Union, but they withstood the removal of the person claimed as a slave from the state under process of law, until time was given to establish his legal freedom or till the slaveholder's representative could prove the property which was alleged in the slave. Maine provided that legal defence should be furnished at the cost of the state, for any person claimed on its borders as a fugitive slave. Ohio prohibited the incarceration of any fugitive slave in her prisons. Wisconsin forbade that any penalties should be enforced against persons condemned under the law within the state. The moral effect of these proceedings was felt in the mind of the citizens in free states; and thus a preparation was made to accept God's dealings, when He should arise to defend the poor and needy. He has taken to Himself

the prerogative of righteousness and justice, as the Judge of the whole earth; and He has promised, to defend the oppressed from the oppressor. When his judgments are abroad upon the earth, the inhabitants thereof learn righteousness.

The candidature of Colonel Fremont was a token of Northern earnestness, in meeting the emergency forced upon their Republic by the aggressions of the slave power. He was put forward on the free-soil platform, and consented to the stipulation that no more territory should be conceded to the slave power. He did not then avow so strongly, as he has since, his anti-slavery sympathies and preparedness to provide liberty to the slave, as far as the Constitution of the Republic would warrant the procedure. The twelve hundred thousand suffrages which were gladly cast into the ballot-box, showed then the rapid progress of opinion among the people. The Abolitionists saw that the cause of the slave was advancing; the slaveholding party apprehended it with fear and rage. Even the slaves in Tennessee were anticipating their jubilee, and had too confidently reckoned on its near approach, when tidings came of the triumph of the tyrant party. Vigilance committees, patrols, and spies were the weapons by which they were met. Arrests, torture, Lynch law, scourging, and hanging were the measures meted out in Dover and Cumberland. Nineteen negroes at one of these towns, and nine at the other, were hung; while others, free coloured and slave, were killed by lashing and the rope; men of Northern sympathies living in the South were expelled from their home for the simplest words in conversation which seemed to favour the cause of Fremont. Trial or jury was not granted to the supposed offender, but prompt banishment or worse was threatened to the loss of trade and property. Thus did the South hug the possession of arbitrary power, which seemed to threaten an early departure.

The ministration of the Southern candidate was imbecile and pusillanimous, sustained by chicanery and subserviency to the party which had placed him in power. Buchanan's conduct as President was traitorous and hostile to the North, servile and full of sycophancy to the slave party. His cabinet was composed of men who conspired against the Constitution, and employed their offices as affording facilities to plunder the Treasury of their country, spoil its arsenals and fortresses, enfeeble its army, bribe its trained officials, and scatter its navy beyond the immediate call of the Executive. The Floyds, the Toombs, the Masons, the Slidells, and Jefferson Davises were his instruments of perfidy, or he winked at the knavery and treason, while they prepared for a sanguinary and fratricidal rebellion. And even so late as December, 1860, after his successor had been chosen, and he knew the hostile courses upon which the conspirators had entered, and their determination to dissolve the Union for the sake of slavery,—a union which he had solemnly sworn to uphold—he feigned to cast upon men who were ready to sacrifice their all for its maintenance in righteousness, the onus of the strife, and imputed to them the dangers which impended. His message on the 3rd December, 1860, affirmed that the peril mainly arose from “the fact that the incessant and violent agitation of the slavery question, throughout the North, for the last quarter of a century, has at length produced its malign influence on the slaves, and inspired them with vague notions of freedom. Hence a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar.” Thus did he pander to the interests of the slave power, and labour to weaken the hands of his lawfully appointed successor.

Some well-meaning, but not well-informed critics of the Lincoln Government have charged the earlier acts of the administration with vacillation, and the utterances of the President as temporizing and indicative of a willingness to

prolong slavery, and sacrifice the slave for the Union. An anti-slavery policy subsequently adopted, it has been affirmed, was only an after-thought, and adhered to only as a war measure; while Mr. Lincoln in his replies to the Chicago Deputation, and to Mr. Horace Greely, put the Union before freedom, and the unity of the Federation before the righteous claims of its long-oppressed and degraded African subjects. The platform on which Mr. Lincoln became candidate was not for emancipation. He was not chosen to abolish slavery whatever was the object he was to resist. He was an avowed advocate of anti-slavery policy; he had spoken at meetings for emancipation, but he had not proposed to dissolve the Union for it, or to bring the Federal power to work in violation of state laws. Two points were emphatically prescribed in the Chicago platform, and to them Mr. Lincoln faithfully adhered. They are expressed in the following clauses :—

“That the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent, is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country. That the normal condition of all territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that ‘no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,’ it becomes our duty by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery on any territory of the United States.”

The import of this avowal was manifestly, that the Federal

power should not be employed to extend slavery, and that the Territories should not be opened for its extension. Mr. Lincoln was elected as President of the United States, and took an oath to defend and maintain the Union. The action of the Confederate conspiracy forced emancipation into the conflict, and rendered the war an anti-slavery struggle. The President constitutionally could only administer the government in concert with Congress and the Senate, and by the legitimate action of subordinate authorities; but all the principal supporters he could look to must themselves be chosen by the popular suffrage. There were members of legislature who, in both Houses, could impede or prostrate the action or proposals of the administration, which must first obtain their approval. The peculiar circumstances attending the election of Mr. Lincoln constituted further matters of deliberate consideration. Four candidates had been started for the Presidency, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Breckenridge, Mr. Bell, and Mr. Lincoln; each of them had numerous adherents. Messrs. Bell and Douglas stood as Union candidates, and for them 1,956,607 of the electors voted, a clear majority over Mr. Lincoln of nearly 100,000. The incoming President had to bear in mind, in all his sayings and doings, the voice of this majority in every annual election throughout the states. The purely Southern element in his antagonism was represented by 847,953 who voted for Breckenridge. Another phase of the national mind was presented in the Electoral College, to whom the decision reverted by the law of the Union, since neither of the candidates had a nett majority of the total popular vote, 4,662,170. Some of the College voted for Mr. Lincoln for one reason, and some for other reasons, all which deserved his respectful consideration. He had learned that the wisdom of the prudent is to understand his way, and he that handleth a matter wisely shall find good, and while a prudent man foreseeth the evil, yet the poor wise man may

by his wisdom deliver the city ; it became the President of the United States, in 1861, not only to be faithful in judging the poor, that he might establish his authority, but also watchful in his communications to guard himself against any false oath or rash procedure.

Mr. Wendell Phillips comprehended the philosophy of the position, when, at the beginning of 1863, he declared, "Never until we welcome the negro, the foreigner, all races as equals and metted together in a common nationality, hurl them all at despotism, will the North deserve triumph, or earn it at the hands of a just God. But the North will triumph. I hear it. Do you remember in that disastrous siege in India, when the Scotch girl raised her head from the pallet of the hospital, and said to the sickening hearts of the English, 'I hear the bagpipes ; the Campbells are coming,' and they said, 'Jessie, it is delirium.' 'No, I know it ; I heard it far off.' And in an hour the pibroch burst upon their glad hearts, and the banner of England floated in triumph over their heads. So I hear in the dim distance the first notes of the jubilee rising from the hearts of the millions. Soon, very soon, you shall hear it at the gates of the citadel, and the stars and stripes shall guarantee liberty for ever, from the lakes to the gulf."

board a large increase to our steerage company, was characteristic of the people and the land. The mourning and lamentation of aged relatives seemed intense and overwhelming; wringing their hands, clasping in their bosom, wailing with weeping and distracting cries when parting from young men who were reeling under the influence of drink; nothing more vehement could have been displayed if the travellers were going to execution. Aged women rushed to the verge of the pier, and even on board of the tender, till the observer feared they would precipitate themselves into the sea, as if they could not sever themselves; while other members of the same family were indulging in free and easy conference, or would turn aside for a moment to soothe the agitation of their aged kindred. It was discovered after we had sailed from Queenstown that five men had stowed themselves on board, without paying, and affirming they had no money to pay their passage. They were marked on the back with numbers, to distinguish them, and then made to occupy themselves in menial services on the deck. An unsuccessful attempt was made to move the cabin passengers to subscribe to aid one of these schemers by the begging box being carried round. I suppose the authorities managed to secure payment in America.

Besides the vessels we passed at sea, two occasions occurred to arouse general attention; the first was an iceberg, and the other was the Associated Press boat at Cape Race. The iceberg was a mass of snow and ice, which probably rose 200 feet out of the sea, and, as we were assured, was, doubtless, twice the depth under the surface. A sort of haven or harbour on one side appeared as if it had been excavated to shelter the seals or sea monsters. The thermometer was sensibly lower in the vicinity; whether from the influence of such a mass of ice, or that the region was colder. The same kind of object was visible on

our return, and not very far from the same latitude and longitude. The weather was foggy as we came toward Newfoundland, and we feared we should have to bear off from its shores without the opportunity of providing a telegraph to be sent before us. But the atmosphere suddenly cleared up, and our captain was able to communicate with the shore, so that a message was sent to New York forty-eight hours before we arrived in the harbour. As we proceeded we saw the lighthouses on the coast of Maine and Massachusetts. Nantucket stood out conspicuously, and soon after we passed Sandy Hook and came within sight of New Jersey heights, and then entered the estuary which receives the waters of the Hudson. It was pleasing to witness the kindly welcome which Americans gave to the headlands of their native country. All passengers were cheerful and on the alert to mark the conspicuous objects on the banks of the majestic estuary, forts and towers, pleasant villas and watering places, which had each a name and a history, and which indicated the approach of our vessel to New York, and the termination of our voyage.

In the times of Dutch power, 1614, this city was designated *New Amsterdam*. I have not come to sketch the harbour, or describe the city, and yet I must say a word on what was so attractive, as we sailed past the "Narrows." The circumference of the harbour from Sandy Hook light to the Narrows is twenty-five miles; and within its outer circle the effect of land and water, ships and vessels, large and small, cities, villages, and villas, from the water's edge to the hill tops, gave variety and attraction to the scenery. The inner harbour, which embraces a basin of water eight miles in length, within the Narrows, is a beautiful bay fringed with picturesque fortifications and defences, which the friend of peaceful commerce would rather look on for ornament than use. Governor's, Bedlow's, and Ellis's islands